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ALBERTANUS
BRIXIENSIS
IN GERMANY

*Being an account of the Middle High German
translations from his didactic treatises*

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book is an adaptation of two theses presented for the degrees of B.Litt., Oxford, and Ph.D., London. It is an attempt to do for Germany what has already been done for Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands, namely, to trace the influence of Albertanus Brixienensis on her didactic literature. As translations from the treatises of a man from whom Dante and Chaucer did not disdain to borrow, the works discussed in the following pages possess an interest which they could not claim on their literary merits, for it is a regrettable fact that Albertanus' writings were not taken up by any one of note in the German literary world. The poem, *Meister Albertus Lere*, has an additional interest in so far as it shows the influence of a remarkable sermon by Bruder Peregrinus, and contains an unusual, if not unique, interpretation of the marriage ritual as a piece of Christian symbolism.

I have much pleasure in acknowledging my obligations to Dr. Hubert Richter, of Dresden, Dr. W. Holtzmann, of Heidelberg, the late Professor Vogt, and Dr. Leo Hohenstein, of Königsberg. I am indebted to Professor Lasch, of Hamburg, for several valuable suggestions. Above all, my

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J. KNIGHT BOSTOCK.

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PART I

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ALBERTANUS BRIXIENSIS

THE three didactic treatises of Albertanus were widely read in the Middle Ages, and there is evidence that their author played no small part in the affairs of his native city; nevertheless very little is known about his career. According to Sundby, who made a close study of him and published critical editions of two of his works, Albertanus must have been born about 1190. In the 'Incipits' and 'Explicits' of his writings he refers to himself as Albertanus Causidicus or Judex of the St. Agatha quarter of Brescia, and he appears to have passed the greater part of his life in the service of this little North Italian city. We know that he became 'podestà' and as such represented his fellow citizens twice at meetings of the Lombard League. When Frederick II laid siege to Brescia, Albertanus held the tower Gavardo against him, and when he had at last been forced to surrender the Emperor cast him into prison in the fortress of Cremona. How long his imprisonment lasted is not stated, but he made use of his time by compiling his *De Amore Dei et Proximi et Aliarum Rerum*, which appeared in 1238. The year of his death is unknown, but it must have taken place later than 1250, as one of his public speeches (*sermones*) was delivered in that year.

The popularity of Albertanus' works in the Middle Ages is attested by the large number of MSS. in which they have been preserved. The three treatises have come down to us in a number of old prints also. As we shall see later, the treatises were frequently translated and exercised a con-

siderable influence on mediaeval literature, but of the *sermones*, in spite of the large number of MSS., neither printed copies nor translations are known.

Of the three didactic treatises, the *De Amore Dei* is the earliest and the most extensive. It is a typical mediaeval compilation in three lengthy books, consisting almost entirely of quotations from the Bible, the Church Fathers, and the classical and later Latin non-ecclesiastical authors, and dealing with the subjects usually treated in the didactic works of its day. It bears a strong resemblance to parts of St. Ambrose's *De Officiis Ministrorum*, but it is to be noted that Albertanus writes as a layman and for laymen. His object being to give instruction in morals and worldly wisdom, purely theological questions are not discussed.

No critical edition of the text has yet appeared.

The second treatise, namely the *De Doctrina Dicendi et Tacendi*, which appeared in 1245, is an extension of the first chapter of *De Amore Dei*. As the title implies, the subject is the use and misuse of the 'unruly member'. Albertanus treats it under six heads in the usual scholastic manner, which he sums up in the verse :

'Quis, quid, cui dicas, cur, quomodo, quando requiras.'

A critical text of the *De Doctrina Dicendi*, with references to the sources of most of the quotations, was published by Thor Sundby as an appendix to his *Brunetto Latini's Levenet og Skrifter*, Copenhagen and Florence, 1869.

The treatise was used by Brunetto Latini in his *Tresor*, and by Dante in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

There is an interesting Latin edition of the *De Doctrina Dicendi* which bears the name of Albertus Magnus. It was printed at Paris in 1491. Pellechet lists it in his *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France* as No. 316, and to the small number of libraries there mentioned as possessing a copy of this rare edition the British Museum may be added.

The text has been unsparingly abridged, many whole

sections and a large number of quotations in the others having been omitted. Its interest to us lies in the fact that it appears to be connected with the Middle High German verse-translation from the *De Doctrina Dicendi*—a point which will be dealt with below. The original has been translated into Middle High German prose and into Middle Dutch verse, as well as into Middle High German verse as stated above.

The last treatise, the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* of 1246, is by far the best known, as it was the most popular, of the three. It was frequently copied and translated independently of the others, and furnished material for no less a personage than the author of the *Canterbury Tales*. A critical text prepared by Thor Sundby, with introduction and notes on the sources of the quotations, was published by the Chaucer Society in 1873.

In outward form the treatise is the story of a rich young nobleman named Melibeus and his wise wife Prudentia. The plot is as follows: One day Melibeus left his wife and daughter at home and went about his business, after carefully barring the door and windows, each action receiving a symbolical interpretation. When he had disappeared, three of his enemies broke in and brutally assaulted the women, their actions also being full of symbolical significance. On his return, Melibeus gives way completely to anger and distress, alternately wailing over the lamentable state of his family and vowing vengeance on those who had done him so grievous a wrong, until Prudentia, who is not merely the allegorical figure of Wisdom, but stands for the right of a woman to stand at her husband's side *secunda inter pares*, succeeds in bringing him to a calmer frame of mind. Overcome by a never-ending stream of quotations from a vast number of authors, Melibeus ceases to tear his hair and consents to summon a council of his friends and to hear their advice on the matter. Here the section 'De Consolatione' comes to an end, and the second, 'De Consilio', begins.

Melibeus now calls a great council of all his acquaintances—lawyers, doctors, and merchants, old and young, wiſe and fooliſh, including ſome who were formerly at enmity with him but were now reconciled. Following the advice of the young and hot-headed, who ſhout down the objections raiſed by the more ſedate and experienced, he decides to barricade his houſe and declare a feud, but Prudentia intervenes again, and by means of a ſecond flood of quotations induces him to ſeek a peaceful ſolution. Melibeus is forced to admit that his wife is wiſer than he. He offers terms, and the enemies, overcome by his wife's wiſdom and his own dignity and goodneſs of heart, make amends and receive full pardon. Prudentia's arguments form the didactic portion of the book.

A ſhortened and popularized French verſion, uſually attributed to Jean de Meun, was appended to *Le jeu des échecs moralisé*, incorporated in *Le Ménagier de Paris*, and translated into Middle Dutch. Chaucer made uſe of this verſion as well as of the original in his *Tale of Melibeus*.¹ Selections from a fifteenth-century Swabian proſe verſion of the original have been published by Vetter in vol. 12 of *Kürſchner's Deutsche Nationalliteratur*. This verſion has been made the ſubject of a diſſertation by Leo Hohenſtein: *Melibeus et Prudentia, Der Liber Consolationis et Consilii des Albertanus von Brescia in zwei deutschen Bearbeitungen des 15ten Jhdts.*, Breslau, 1903. Unfortunately Hohenſtein's critical text has not been printed. There is alſo a Middle High German verſe-adaptation, which appears to be diſtantly related to the French translation.

In addition to the above-mentioned translations and adaptations of individual treatiſes, there are a number of more or leſs complete verſions of all three. We poſſeſs no leſs than five Italian translations, beſides a French, a Spaniſh, and

¹ Cp. Tatlock on the *Melibeus* in *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Society's Publications, 1907.

a German version.¹ No English version or adaptation has as yet been identified. It would be strange if so popular an author had been deemed unworthy of translation in England alone, and it would be still more remarkable if such a translation had disappeared without leaving a trace in a country which has been privileged to develop so peacefully as ours has, while the Continent has preserved so many, in spite of periodical devastations by invading armies. Perhaps some neglected volume marked 'Miscellaneous Middle English Saws', now lying on the shelf in one of our ancient libraries, will one day be identified as the missing English version of the treatises of Albertanus. In the hope that this may soon occur, we pass to the Middle High German versions.

¹ For accounts of the various Romance versions cp. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*.

PART II

THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN TRANSLATIONS

CHAPTER I

LERE UND UNDERWEISUNG

§ 1. MSS. and Early Print

THE Middle High German translation of the three treatises, called *Lere und Underweisung*, from the first words of its long title, has come down to us in two MSS. and an incunabulum, which will be referred to as Q, K, and R respectively in the following pages.

Q

Q, i.e. MS. Additional 16581 of the British Museum, has been exhaustively described by R. Pribsch in the second volume of his *Deutsche Handschriften in England* under No. 175. It is a thick octavo volume, consisting of two distinct paper MSS. bound up together in a single antique binding, the first MS. forming fols. 1-119, and the second fols. 120-300 of the whole. An exact date for a part at least of the MS. is furnished by a scribal note on fol. 128 v: *Geendet auf Sampstag vor dem Suntag Jubilate vor Sant Jorgen tage anno dni lxiij.* Both MSS. are the work of the same scribe, but a second and neater hand appears on fols. 152-5, 171 rv, 173 v-4 v, and 198 v. The orthography also of the second scribe is more careful than that of the first; in particular, there is little of the senseless doubling of the consonants to which the first was addicted. The short prose translation from *De Doctrina Dicendi*, to which we

shall refer later, was entered by him. At the beginning of the MS. the quires have been misplaced; the order should be: fols. 18-23, 3-17, 24 ff. The fact that what is now fol. 18 r is badly soiled shows that it occupied its proper place for some time, and that the missing first page, which bore the beginning of the translation, had been lost at a still earlier period. Fol. 1 is a modern addition, and a fifteenth-century coloured picture of a scholar in his library has been pasted upon it. Fol. 2, which is badly damaged, bears fragments of a piece of prose which has been preserved entire on fols. 61 v-62 v of MS. K, i.e. at the end of the translation from Albertanus. It has no connexion with the latter, unless it is a preface or a conclusion added by the translator himself. Fols. 3 r-81 v bear the translation called *Lere und Underweisung*, the beginning being missing as stated above. The remaining leaves, 81 v-119 v, contain a theological treatise in prose, which has no connexion with Albertanus' work, although it follows in the MS. without a break. The second MS. contains: 1. *Sprüche der 18 weisen meister aus Paris*. 2. A collection of rhymed saws attributed to God, the Prophets, the Fathers, the Minnesänger, &c. 3. Fols. 152 v-5 v: *Ain nucze ler von reden und schweigen* (a prose translation from the *De Doctrina Dicendi*). 4. A German *Cato*, which, according to Pribsch, is one of the oldest types and not mentioned by Zarncke.

Orthography: the usual abbreviations for *n* and *r* are common, but there are no others. *f* is always and *t* usually doubled both medially and finally. *t* is sometimes written *dt*. *l* is very often doubled both medially and finally, but *n* finally only. *e* is very frequently doubled in the monosyllables *e*, *ge*, *get*, *ste*, *stet*.

Dialect: the MS. is written in the Swabian dialect, as appears from the numerous examples of *au*=M.H.G. *â*. M.H.G. *î* and *ei* always appear as *ei* and *ai* respectively. M.H.G. *û* is always represented by *au* except in *uff*. M.H.G. *u* is usually *eu*, but sometimes *iu* or *ü*.

K

K is Cgm 403 of the Bairiſche Staatsbibliothek, Munich. It is a fifteenth-century MS., composed partly of paper and partly of parchment, there being one ſheet, i.e. two leaves, of the latter in the middle and two or three ſheets at the end of each quire of eight ſheets of paper. There are 174 leaves, three of which are blank, all 21.5 × 15.5 cms. in ſize. The MS. contains: Fols. 1-61 *Lere und Underweiſung*, fols. 61-2 the piece of proſe which may be the translator's own preface or concluſion to the above, fols. 63-79 *Griſeldis*, fols. 80-101r the Middle High German *Melibeus*, fols. 101v-5v a number of ſhort didactic pieces and proverbs, fols. 106r-171v Seuse's *Buch von der ewigen Weiſheit*.

Orthography: in this MS. the number of abbreviations is ſtill ſmaller than in Q. *z* and the modern final -s are often uſed for the Genitive termination -es. *f* and *t* are frequently doubled, both medially and finally, but leſs ſo than in Q. The *d* is often doubled in *werden*, *werdeſt*, *worden*. *z* (Germanic *t*) is uſually represented by *β*, but two 'long' *s*'s often occur. *β* is uſed now and then for *s* alſo, occurring once even initially in *βervitoribus*. *ss* for *s* is rare. *sβ* occurs rarely, and only at the end of a word or a ſyllable. As in the caſe of Q, the *dialect* is Swabian, but the characteristic ſigns are leſs ſtrongly marked.

R

The incunabulum R was printed by Johannes Bämle of Augſburg in 1472. From the opening words of its long title it is uſually catalogued as 'Lere und Underweiſung', although this really applies to the firſt part only. Descriptions of it will be found in G. W. Panzer's *Annalen der älteren deutſchen Literatur* under No. 15 for the year 1472, and in Hain's *Repertorium Bibliographicum* under No. 10005. A ſecond edition, which has been enriched by two woodcuts, but is otherwiſe unaltered, appeared in 1476. Panzer, *op. cit.*, liſts it as No. 61, and Hain as No. 10006. The woodcuts

have been described by A. Schramm in *Der Bilderschmuck der Drucke von J. Bämle*, Leipzig, 1921.* For this work a copy of the first edition in the British Museum (Pressmark IB 5647) was used. The Bairische Staatsbibliothek possesses a copy of the second.

The incunabulum consists of 60 unnumbered pages, all of which measure 28 x 21 cms. At the beginning of each paragraph there are red initial letters, which have been added after the body of the text had been printed. There are two columns on each of the pages 1-40 r (40 v is blank), but only one on the remainder.

The contents of the volume are as follows:

1. Fols. 1 r-30 r (30 v blank): 'Lere und Underweisung'.
2. Fols. 31 r-40 r (40 v blank): 'Hienach volget eine nuczliche lere und predig wie sich zwey menschen in dem sacrament der hailigen Ee halten sullen: *Anfang*: 'Es ist nit guot dem menschen allain ze sein'.

Fol. 36 v: 'Hie hebt sich an das ander buoch von der Ee und sprich also. Das weib sol herschen über dz in dem haus ist ...'

Fol. 39 v: 'Item hie nach volgen neun stück damit man got ain besunder wolgefallen tuot wer si mit andacht volpringet in diser zeit.'

(No. 2 has come down to us in an edition 'gedruckt zu Augsburg von Cristian Hayny Anno MCCCCLXXXI'.)

3. Fols. 41 r-47 v: 'Hienach volget ein hailsame nuczliche ler durch ein hochgelerten geistlichen vater also beschriben und ist genant der menschen spiegel darinn man lernet sein selbs erkanntnuß vnd den weg der ewigen sälikeit.'

At the end, on fol. 47 v:

'Das hat gedruckt Johannes bämle
zu Augspurg jm .LXXIJ. jar.'

4. Fols. 48 r-50 v: 'Hienach volgent die fünff anfachtung die ain yedlich mensch ersteen muoß in seinen letzten zeiten mit sampt fünff haylsamen gepeten die oft vnd nüzlich ze sprechen sind mit andacht.'

5. Fols. 51r-60r (60v blank): 'Hienach volgent zehen gepot gottes mit einer nuczlichen außlegung die ein yeder vernünfftiger cristen mensch schuldig ist ze wissen bey seiner sel sälikeyt.'

The printer, Johannes Bämle, was one of the earliest and most active of the Augsburg masters of this craft. Although his press delivered a goodly tale of books between 1470 and 1492, hardly anything is known about him. According to Metzger, *Augsburgs älteste Buchdenkmale*, Augsburg, 1840, he appears in the Augsburg taxation register as early as 1465 as 'Schreiber', a title which need mean no more than 'librarian' or bookseller.¹ All Bämle's prints are easily recognizable by the varying shapes of the letters. One might almost suspect that he had bought up half a dozen businesses and thrown all the types into one box.

Orthography: the orthography of the print reveals a carefully thought-out system, in which an attempt has been made to eliminate such dialect features as the *au* for M.H.G. *ā*.

(a) *Abbreviations*: the abbreviations for *n* and *r* are still more numerous than in the MSS. A superfluous '*n*-stroke' is very often placed over words like *zorn*. *Und* is almost always written *vn* with a stroke over the top. *xps* appears once for *Christus*. It is interesting to note that the conjunction *daß* is usually represented by the abbreviation *dz*, whereas N.H.G. *das* is almost always written *das*. N.H.G. *daß* appears occasionally as *das*, but *dz* for N.H.G. *das* is very rare indeed.

(b) *Division and Punctuation*: the words are divided at the end of the line without regard to the syllables, and a hyphen is usually inserted. Sentences and clauses are divided by an oblique stroke. The full-stop is not common.

(c) *Doubling*: *f* is always doubled both medially and finally, even in the combination *pf*. *ppf* occurs once only. *n* also

¹ See also: Zapf, *Augsburgs Buchdruckergeschichte nebst den Jahrbüchern derselben vom Jahre 1468 bis auf das Jahr 1500*, Augsburg, 1809; Falkenstein, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Leipzig, 1840; Carl B. Lorck, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Leipzig, 1882.

is not uncommonly doubled, but other consonants rarely only. This is particularly noticeable in the case of *l*, which is always single in words like *gesellschaft*. The *e* is invariably doubled in the monosyllables *e*, *ge*, *get*, *ste*, *stet*.

(*d*) *Phonology*¹: M.H.G. *a*=*a*: *arczney*, *hart* (adv.), but *hert* (adj.) from O.H.G. *herti*. M.H.G. *â*=*ī*. *a*: *wa*, *2. o*: always *on*, *arckwon*. M.H.G. *e* and *ä*: *ī*. It is clear that the modern levelling in favour of the Nominative form is taking place, although the process is far from complete. Both forms are written either *e* or *a* with an *e* above it,² but each word is usually written in one way only, e.g.: *schlegen* (N.H.G. *Schlägen*), *schlecht* (N.H.G. *schlägt*), *heckt*, *behender*, *lenger*, *wechst*, *naechst*, *schaemig*, *geschlecht* beside *geschlaecht*, *gelaechter*, *taeglich*, *schedlichest*, *gefaengknuß*, *maechtiger*, *manigfeltig*, but always *ainfaeltig*, *helt* (N.H.G. *hält*), *ainfaelle*, *zuofaelle*, *widerwaertig*, *zweifelhaeftig*, *schaecz*, *fraeuel*. The sign *ä* does not occur. *Gewaltig* and *martrer* are always without Umlaut. *2. o* with *e* above in *woellen* and *schoepffen*. M.H.G. *æ*=*ī*: *a* with *e* above, e.g. *laert* (M.H.G. *leert*); *2. always o* with *e* above in *arckwoenig*. M.H.G. *ë* and *ê* are always written *e*. M.H.G. *i* = *ī*. *i*, *y*: *wirdig*, *verschwigenheit*. *i* followed by *e* as a sign of vowel-length occurs once only: *verschwiegenheit* I. 2. 4; *2. = ü*: always in *würdest* and *würt*, rarely in other cases, e.g.: *würff*, *würser*. M.H.G. *î* = *ī*. *ei*: *weisheit*, *paradeis*; *2. i*: *funcklin* and *kindelin* once each. M.H.G. *ie* = *ī*. *ie*: *licht*, *liegen*, *betriegen*, *dyemuetig*; *2. once disen*; *3. always veind* and *arczney*. M.H.G. *ei* = *ī*. *ai*, *ay*: *baide*; *2. ei*: always *-heit*, *-keit*, once *heylig*. The form *laiden* (M.H.G. *leiden*) occurs once; in all other cases the form *leiden* (from *liden*) is used. There is one example of each of the contractions *geyt* (= *gibet*) and *leyt* (= *liget*). *Gen*

¹ Only the most interesting examples are given in each case.

² In order to facilitate printing, the *e* or *o* is always placed after instead of above the other vowel. *ae*, *uo*, and *ue* do not occur in the print; in the following pages, therefore, they are always to be understood as 'a with *e* above it,' &c.

(= *gegen*) occurs frequently. In all other cases we find *tregt*, *klaget*, *verjaget*, *gibest*. M.H.G. *o* and *ô* = *o*: *honig*, *forcht* (substantive), *forchtsamer*. M.H.G. *ö* and *œ* = *o* with *e* above it: *gespoett*, *spoettet*, *goetlich*, *loebelich*, always *soelich*. M.H.G. *u* = 1. *u*: *gewunnen*, *sunst*, *frummen*, *antlucz*; 2. *ü* always in *süllen*, *mügen*, and occasionally in other words: *lüstig*, *künnen*, *künstreichen*, *sün* (N.H.G. *Sohn*). M.H.G. *ü* = 1. *ii*: *künig*, *übel*, *füncklin*, *lügner*, always *fürchten* (verb) and *würcken*. 2. Sometimes the unmodified Upper German forms appear: *burger*, *undertrucken*, *getruckt*, *duncket*, *lugner*; 3. *trogenlich* is a new formation from *betrogen*. M.H.G. *û* = *au*, *aw*: *nachpawr*, *gerawen*. M.H.G. *iu* (umlaut) = *eü*, *ew* (with two strokes over the *w*): *heüser*. Once: *laeuterest*. M.H.G. *iu* (diphthong) = *eü*, *ew* (as above): *schlewß*, *freünd*, *drew*, *lewmden*; 2. once *beschlyessest*. M.H.G. *uo* = 1. *u* with *o* above: *tuo*, *almuosen*; 2. once *ruefen* and *son* (N.H.G. *Sühne*). M.H.G. *üe* = 1. *u* with *e* above: *gemuet*, *nuechterling*, *bruedern* beside *bruodern* and *huoten*; 2. always *oe* before the nasal in *ungestoeme*, *ungestoemikeit*. Once in *roeme* (= N.H.G. *rühme*). M.H.G. *ou* = *au*: *auch*, *taugen*. M.H.G. *öu* = 1. *eü*, *ew* (as above): *freüde*, *frewde*; 2. twice in succession: *gefraewen*, *traew* (= N.H.G. *Drohung*); 3. the Upper German resistance to umlaut appears in *haubet*, *glauben*, but *ungelaeublich* and *raewber* also occur.

The old full vowels have been preserved in the unaccented syllables in a few cases: *arczat* beside *arczet*, *torachts* beside *torret*, *bewertisten* beside *bewertesten*, *gewertisten*, *erfarnosten*, *durchleüchtigosten*. *i* for *e* occurs in *purdin*, *liebin* (dative), once each. *u* for *i* occurs occasionally in the termination *-nuß*: *gefangknuß*, *bekutnuß*, *verdampnuß*. *o* for *u* occurs once in *lewmont*. Accented we usually find *zuo*, unaccented *ze*.

Apocope and Syncope: The Upper German predilection for Apocope and Syncope of unaccented *e* has asserted itself. Owing to the contending influences of Middle and Upper Germany, the printer has not been consistent in his spelling, but it is obvious that the modern developments and analogical

levelling are taking shape and have established themselves in some cases. Thus we invariably find: *beste*, *größte*, *armuot*, &c., but *offen* (= N.H.G. *öffnen*), *antwort* (= N.H.G. *antworte* and *antwortet*), usually *geschechne*, *verlaßne*, &c. In other cases we find both forms side by side: *haimelich* and *haimlich*, *rede* and *red*, *sprichet* and *spricht*, *gelübde* and *gelübt*, never *gelübede*. *Zunge* is almost always without *e*. In the second person singular Syncope is rare. An *e* is often added at the end of a word and inserted before *n* in words like *zorn*. It is noteworthy that Syncope is much commoner in the MSS. than in the print, while Apocope is commoner in the latter than in the MSS.

M.H.G. *b*: Initially and at the beginning of a syllable = *b*, but *p* is not uncommon: *pesser*, *pringen*, *pluot*, *pillt* (*bellt*), *anplick*, *kuntper*. Medially: *b* except in *poewel*, where *u* is always used. Finally and before a suffix *b* appears by analogy with the oblique cases: *lamb*, *leib*, &c.; *p* occurs once only: *leiplichen*. *p* is very often inserted between *m* and *t*: *kompt*, &c. M.H.G. *pf*: initially *pf*, medially and finally *pff*. The old form has remained after *r*: *scharpffer*, *scharpff*. M.H.G. *f*, *v*: As in the cases of *e* and *ä*, the use of *f* and *v* has been partly conventionalized. We always find *fl-*, *fr-*, *fu-*, *ver-*, *vol-*, *vor-*, *vatter* (but once *gefatterschafft*), *vil*, *vier*, *veind*, *vest*, *volgen*, *fachen*, *feür*, *wegfarte*, and usually, but not always, *val*, *välle* (N.H.G. *Fälle*), *vellet*, *vechten*. Medially *f* is the rule. *u* is always written in *fraewel* and occurs once or twice in other words, e.g. *vuersuocht*, *beuolchen*. M.H.G. *d* initially = *d*, but occasionally *t*: *ticht*, *getichten* (*erdichteten*), *teütlich*, *getruckt*. Medially = *d*: *sybenden*, *achtenden*, *tausenten* three times, *neundten* once. M.H.G. *z*: initially *z*, medially and finally *cz*, occasionally *tz*, even after consonants. M.H.G. *t* initially = *t*, but occasionally *th*: *thuon*, *thor*, *Kathone*, always *z* in *zwingen*. Medially = *t*. Finally and before suffixes = *t*. The modern levelling in favour of the *d* of the oblique cases has been fairly strictly carried out. *t* is always added in *niemant* and *müessent*,

M.H.G. *zz* from Germanic *t* is almost always represented by *ss* between vowels, but before consonants, and when it comes to stand before a consonant owing to syncope, and rarely between vowels, *β* is used. Finally *β* is usual: *auβ*, &c., but *s* is invariably found in *es* and *was*. *Das* and *dz* have been treated above under Abbreviations. M.H.G. *s* = *s*, but always *schl*-, *schm*-, *schn*-, *schw*- (*sweigen* occurs once only), *verleürst*, *verleürt*. Medially after syncope and finally *β* is almost invariable. Now and then we find *tz* = *-tes*: *gotz*, *nichtz*. Once: *eyβs*. M.H.G. *m* has remained in *buosem*. M.H.G. *g* is always *g*. Sometimes it has been omitted before *-keit*. M.H.G. *k* = *k* initially, but usually *ck* medially. Finally it has almost always been levelled out in favour of the *g* of the oblique cases. M.H.G. *ch* has remained in *gleichsner* and has been assimilated in *hoffertig*. M.H.G. *h* = *h* initially, but almost always *ch* between vowels: *zechen*, *sechen*, &c., and before *t*. *h* has remained in *beuelhen* and *beuolhen*.

The relationship of the three texts

As both the MSS. and the print have the common error *ungezwungener* for *gezwungener* in III. 17. 12: *Ain boeser hueter ist ain ungezwungener frewnd*, it is clear that all three go back to the same faulty archetype (X).

Q cannot have been the original from which the others were copied, for in this MS. the Latin headings to the chapters are missing from II. 6 onwards. As these, as preserved in R and to some extent in K also, agree very closely, in some cases even word for word, with those of the original, their absence in Q is conclusive evidence. Furthermore, III. 15. 12-3 is missing in Q, though preserved in K and R.

K also is eliminated by the fact that it contains a number of errors where Q and R have preserved the correct readings, e.g. I. 5. 4 *on nucz* wanting K, I. 9. 16 *noch ze sain* Q *noch ze säumig* R wanting K, II. 11. 5 and III. 5. 1 *nächsten* QR (*proximorum* in the Latin original) *menschen* K, III. 17. 2 *ze leben* wanting K, III. 22. 14 *wär besser* QR *verbessern* K.

As there are several large lacunae in its text, it is impossible that R can have been the archetype for the rest. Three whole chapters are wanting, namely I. 11 *Si vis predicare*, III. 8 *Beneficia* (with the exception of the first sentence), and III. 27 *De injuria et vindicta*. There are also a large number of smaller lacunae, but, as all are due to carelessness or caprice, no further notice need be taken of them. Lastly, II. 2 *De gwerra consilium* has been misplaced, following II. 5 *Utilitas prudentie est hec*.

For these reasons it is evident that the common archetype X was not one of the three texts we now possess, but another which is apparently lost.

If the three texts are now compared, we see at once that QK have very often preserved the true reading where R has an error.

Besides the lacunae already mentioned, the print contains a considerable number of interpolations. As many of these are of a religious nature, it appears probable that the text was prepared for the press by a cleric, e.g. after II. 4. 10: *Als Salomon sprichet: Der weg des toren ist gerecht in seinen augen, aber der weis suocht rat* (Prov. xii. 15, interpolated from the Middle High German *Melibeus*¹); after III. 14. 6: a passage from the *XXIV gulden harpffen* (printed without date by Bämle), *Die sibende harpffe: Der hailig altvater Serapio spricht: Aus der geytikeit mügen kommen all ander sünd, &c.*; after III. 21. 13: *Vnd besunder zewch sie dz sie in die predig gehen*. Others are German proverbs and sayings, e.g. the above-mentioned interpolation following III. 21. 13 contains the well-known passage from Walther von der Vogelweide: *Den man z'eren bringen mac, Dem ist ein wort als ein slac* in the form *Wer zu eren werden mag, Dem ist ain wort als ain schlage* and attributed to Cato. Another very interesting interpolation follows III. 6. 5: *Wer mer wil verzeren Denn sein pfluog mag ereren, Dz ist nicht wunder*,

¹ There is another interpolation from the *Melibeus* after II. 6. 10. See Chapter 3.

Ob er get in plunder. Various forms of this proverb are cited by Wander in his *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1876, under *verzehren*, No. 19: Sebastian Franck, *Sprichwörtersammlung*, Franckfurt am Main, 1541, page 101 r, where the last two lines run: *Wie kan sich der erwerben? In muoß der bettel oder stegreif neren*, and Mathesy, *Syrach* (1554): *Wer mer verzehrt Denn sein pfluog erert, Derselbig sich des bettelstabs nicht weret.* Later forms have *ernähret* instead of *ereret*. This print is thus the earliest instance of the proverb.

The editor has evidently attempted to popularize the text. He has frequently replaced obsolete words such as *spech*, *spür*, *taugen*, *untz*, *luog*, *derper*, *kanleüt*, *sein* (as sign of the Passive) by *merck*, *nym war*, *haimlichkeit*, *bis*, *siche*, *torheit*, *eeleüt*, *werden*. He has Germanized sentences the construction of which showed the influence of the Latin source, e.g. I. 10. 2 *Es ist zeit ze schweygen* QK (*Est tempus tacendi*), *Es ist ain zeit ze schweigen* R; II. 6. 8 *So wurdest nicht verzigen* QK *So wurdest du . . .* R, and inserted a few words here and there in order to smooth the construction, e.g. *spricht Katho, als ain altes spruchwort spricht*, &c.

In II. 20. 4 Albertanus has made use of an old and rustic proverb (*Necessitas etiam honestum ad latrinam cogit*) which clearly gave offence to the editor, for he altered *zuo dem stuole* of the MSS. to *ze diebstal*.

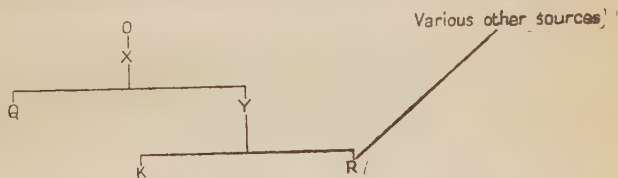
Many of his alterations are due to pure carelessness or caprice, e.g. I. 5. 6 *veind* QK *frewnd* R (from the line above), II. 6. 26 *list und fünd* QK *wicz und frewnd* R, 7. 3-4 have been transposed, 7. 5 *vierden* QK *dritten* R, 8. 9 *fünften* QK *andern* R, 21. 1 *trawrikeit* (*luctus*) QK *armuot* R, III. 2. 14 *verschmaechen* (*despicere*) QK *verschweygen* R. Similar cases are exceedingly numerous.

In addition to the great number of readings in which Q and K agree against R, there is a fair sprinkling in which K and R agree against Q, but only a few have any value as evidence. Such are: I. 12. 1 *und botschafft* inserted after

brieff KR, I. 13. 7 *ain semlichs* Q *ain solichs* KR, II. 11. 7 *verpeut* (*prohibet*) Q *beut* K *gebeut* R, II. 14. 1 *unbesynnlich* (*furiosum*) Q *vnzimlich* KR, after II. 17. 9 *vnd gibt den pfaffen mit der kirchen* inserted KR. Apart from a few trivial errors, which prove nothing, Q always has the correct reading in such cases; hence the corruptions in K and R must be derived from a common archetype Y.

Lastly, there are a few cases in which Q and R have preserved the correct reading where K has an error. The examples from which inferences can be drawn have been collected above.

In order to reconcile all these facts, we must assume that Q and Y were independently derived from X, and that K and R in turn are independent copies from Y. The line of development would therefore be as follows:



This scheme could be refuted only by the presence of variants in which either K had preserved the correct one where Q and R had the same mistake or in which R was right and QK wrong. There is no instance of the latter and only one example of the former, namely II. 12. 1, where K has the word *und*, which is wanting in QR. This could well have been conjectured by the scribe, and is, therefore, valueless as evidence.

Of the three texts Q has by far the greatest critical value. The scribe followed his original carefully. He has made one or two slips and has left out a word here and there, especially at the beginning of a page. As we have already seen, a number of errors had crept into the Y-text, although the headings to the chapters had been retained. Thus the text

of K was corrupt from the source, but it is far superior to that of R, which owing to the many lacunae, interpolations, and wilful alterations made by the editor is of little value in the preparation of a critical edition.

§ 2. The relationship of the translation to the original

Lere und Unterweisung is divided into three parts, the first of which is translated from *De Doctrina Dicendi et Tacendi*, the second from *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*, and the third from *De Amore Dei et Proximi*.

The translator has not carried out his task at all well. The quality of his work grows worse and worse as it proceeds—a fact which is not surprising in view of its length and uninspiring character. Much has simply been omitted, for example Ch. IV of the *De Doctrina Dicendi*, which occupies a page and a half of print, has been reduced to seven lines in the eighth chapter of the first part of the translation.

In the first part the translator has kept fairly closely to the original. In the second part a diminution of interest is clearly perceptible; the long formless sentences become more numerous and more and more is omitted. No mention is made of Melibeus and Prudentia, of the attack on the house and the subsequent reconciliation. The translator in his weariness forgot this and several times rendered Prudentia's words without changing the second person, which she naturally used when speaking to her husband (II. 5. 3, 6. 5-6, 7. 2 ff.). When he gets to the third part he often contents himself with a mere paraphrase. The gaps become larger and larger until at last he breaks off abruptly in the middle of the second book of the *De Amore Dei*. The third and last book of the *De Amore Dei* has not been touched.

Sometimes the translator has expanded his original, either by unnecessary verbiage, as in Part I, Ch. 3, where the

concise hexameter *Quis, quid, cui dicas, cur, quomodo, quando requiras* has been swelled into some nine or ten lines, or by interpolations, some of which are very interesting.

Not merely the print but the translation itself has obviously passed through the hands of a clerical editor. The opening sentences (I. 1. 1-2. 6) have been interpolated from some *Conflictus vitiorum et virtutum* (see notes to the selections from the text of *Lere und Underweisung*). There are many other additions of a clerical nature, e. g. II. 2. 23 *Ain solicher freünd ist über all schätz, den hab lieb als dich selber vnd deinen aigen leib (und doch nicht als lieb oder lieber dann got)*, 17. 9 *Gut gibt das geschlecht . . . (vnd gibt auch den pfaffen mit der kirchen)*. The interpolated words have been bracketed. II. 21. 5, which is too long to quote in full, appears to have come from a sermon. Similar examples are to be found in III. 15. 1, 21. 15-6, 22. 7.

Some of the interpolations are German 'Sprüche'. Vridank, *Bescheidenheit* 80. 10 *Swer nit wol gereden kan, Der swige und si ein wise man* appears in I. 2. 3 as *Wer nit wol reden kan, Der schweig und sei ain biderman*. The proverb quoted in III. 34. 3: *All schwymmer ertrinckendt und die besten fechter werden erschlagen* (R continues: *und gemainlich die besten klimmer fallen gern ze tod*) appears in Sebastian Franck's *Sprichwörtersammlung*, Franckfurt am Main, 1541, ed. Latendorf, 1876, as No. 133.

II. 25. 15 has been borrowed from some legal work: *Es ist nicht . . . ain missetat, der den vnrechten widerstet. (Als der gespannen hat und wil dich schiessen, magstu in vor dem schuß tödten, so hast du dich versichert.)* Again the words bracketed are the interpolation.

Single words or sentences have often been inserted, in order to complete the sense of the passage in question, or to round off the close of the chapter.

From certain Latinisms and mistranslations it is clear that the translator had the original Latin before him and not a French version, e. g. I. 10 1 *das du der rechten zeit sollt*

warten ze reden vnd ordenlich = *requiras tempus et ordinem*,
 I. 10. 2 *Es ist zeit ze schweigen* (R inserts *ain*) = *Est tempus tacendi*,
 II. 19. 11 *Es ist rechte vrtail* (R again inserts *ain*),
 II. 21. 1 *aber allain zwinget not* = *sola constringit necessitas*.

The mistranslations are due to carelessness rather than ignorance: I. 7. 23 *Item, hab mit den toren kuinen rat; sy können anders nit geraten, nur das in wol gefaelt wan der hund pillt nach seiner weis vnd art* = *Requiras ne cum cinicis, id est cum latrantibus et mordacibus, colloquium habeas*. Albertanus explains that the word *cinicus* is derived from the Greek *kuon, canis*; hence the nature of those called Cinics. The translator either failed to understand or did not like the pun. II. 8. 13 *Und merck wa getailt rat ist, da kompt selten kain guot aus noch endet sich nit wol, doch geschechne ding kan nieman widertreiben*. There is no connexion between the two parts of the sentence, as the translator has left something out. Melibeus has said that he cannot change a plan which he has made, but Prudentia explains that only facts and deeds are unalterable. The word cannot be rendered unspoken after it has passed the lips, but the advice received and the purpose formed can be examined and, if desirable, rejected before anything has been done: *Consilium quod dicis factum nullo modo infectum fieri potest, . . . verumtamen quod factum est examinari potest et utilitas assumi*. II. 17. 9 *Gut gibt das geschlecht vnd gibt gestalt vnd den kunigen mit dem kunigreich* = *Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat*: the translator has rendered *regibus* instead of *regina*. In III. 26. 1-2 *tamen* has been rendered by *auch*, thus causing a contradiction.

Apart from the evidence of the language, the fact that *Lere und Underweisung* has preserved the fortieth chapter of the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* (Ch. 11 *Ueber den fünfffachen willen gottes*) which is omitted in Jean de Meun's version, shows that the German is not dependent on the latter.

In a few cases the translation is more vivid than the original, e.g. I. 7. 19 . . . *ir red ist ain vergiffigs schoß, das fleuch und ir geselschafft meyd als den strick, dz sy dich nicht*

verpinden vnd verknüpfen = . . . *loquelaе eius assiduitatem quasi toxica fugias*; III, 14. 4 *ain eysne hand geschlossen zu geben* = *clausa manus*; 19. 25 *prinnet als ain fackel* = *exardescit*; 24. 2 *Wer des andern missetat offentlich und neidlichen strafft, der hört die seinen herwider mit geschray vnd donnerschlag* = . . . *intempestive*. Usually, however, the opposite is true.

In one instance the German has deepened the thought of the original: I. 9. 15 *Lob also den außwendigen, daß du nit laidigest den gegenwürtigen* = *Laudare decet absentem nec laedere decet praesentem*.

§ 3. The authorship

As Hohenstein truly remarks in the dissertation quoted above, the translation has been made on the usual lines of a mediaeval didactic work. The author was not influenced by the new humanistic culture, but was content to extract the moral principles from the original and string them together without any attempt at literary embellishment.

He has left no clue as to his identity. Apparently he was a cleric (hence the interpolations of a theological nature) and a Swabian, as all the documents come from that part of the country.

§ 4. The style

The translator's literary style is very imperfect. In addition to the Latinisms there are other disagreeable elements: the order of the words is frequently un-German, as in I. 4. 4 . . . *das es die warheit nicht mag bekennen noch ausgenemen weislich das recht*; II. 22. 2 *Und ist er hoch geadelt, so im der schad ie wirser tuot*. There are many such instances; in R most of them have been emended. The numerous long and formless sentences, the parts of which are strung together by means of a succession of *wanns*, render the text tedious and difficult to follow. Sometimes two constructions have been combined, e.g. II. 11. 5 *Etwen beüt got, das ain ding geschech*

und das man es halte (= und daß man ſein Gebot halte); II. 17. 9 *Umb boßheit zu vermeiden iſt ze fechten. Er ſoll ee den tod leiden.* (This is meaningless unleſs ‘als eine boßheit begehen’ or words to that effect are ſupplied.) To this claſs of blemiſhes belong alſo the ſudden transitions from indirect to direct ſpeech and from Poſitive to Superlative. The ſubject is ſometimes changed in a manner which deſtroys the connexion, e.g. I. 13. 7-8 *Zuo dem ſechten mal erzaige . . . Zuo dem ſibenden mal ſol er layten . . .*; II. 6. 22 *So rat ich dir* (ſc. rat zu nemen) . . . *bei deinem aller treweſten frewnde damit er mag reden als mit dir ſelber.* A *constructio ad-ſenſum* is common: . . . *der da mag vnderſteen ain miſſetat und vnderſteet es nicht . . .*, &c. The translator frequently omits a word which is eſſential to the intelligibility of the ſentence: *Schneller rat vnd nit zu dem beſten gerewt* (Haſty council, and ſuch is not of the beſt kind, will cauſe regret); ſtill vaguer is *Der ze vil gelücks hat und lang, ſo folgt im nach alles übel vnd auff in* (*fällt auf in* is meant); *davon oder dazu prechen* (to reduce or to add). The laſt example is one of many harſh *apokoinou*’s. A particularly unpleaſant example of this licence occurs in III. 26. 1 *Guttat vergißt man bald vnd altet lindlich vnd leicht*, where *Guttat* is firſt object and then ſubject of the verb.

CHAPTER II

AIN NUCZE LER VON REDEN UND SCHWEIGEN

THIS short piece is an adaptation of the *De Doctrina Dicendi et Tacendi*, but it contains only the leading ideas of the original. All Albertanus' arguments and the quotations with which he supports them have been omitted, so that the work has been reduced to a detailed table of contents. It may well have been prepared as notes for a sermon or may even be the (certainly extremely laconic) sermon itself, an impression which is strengthened by the fact that it closes with a prayer.

No attempt is made to connect the ideas and to make a piece of continuous prose out of them, so there is no literary style to discuss and there is nothing to show whether the author had any knowledge of other renderings or not.

Sentences 1-4 and 8 of Chapter I and the whole of the seventh and eighth chapters have not been taken from Albertanus, but are interpolations from some theological treatise, the opening words being a dialogue from a *Conflictus vitiorum et virtutum*.

This version is to be found on fols. 152 v-5 v of the same MS. (Addl. 16581 of the British Museum) which contains the complete translation called *Lere und Underweisung*, but has been entered by the second scribe. The dialect is Swabian, but, as was stated in the previous chapter, this scribe's work differs from that of his colleague both in handwriting and orthography. The following details of the latter are worthy of note:—

(1) *Abbreviations*: The abbreviations for *n* and *r* are rarely used. *xps* occurs in 8. 1.

(2) *Doubling*: The doubling of the consonants was much less favoured by this scribe than by the other. *s* and *l* have been doubled in a few isolated cases only. *tt* occurs several times both medially and finally, but *f* alone is invariably doubled in both positions.

(3) *Phonology*: M.H.G. *á* is represented by *a*, *au* and *a* with *u* above it, M.H.G. *æ* by *e*, *ä* and *a* with *e* above it, M.H.G. *i*, *ei*, and *ie* by *ei*, *ai*, and *au* respectively. M.H.G. *ö* and *œ* have been unrounded to *e* in *selicher* 2. 8, *spettigen* 3. 8, *hern* 1. 4, *gehert* 2. 1. M.H.G. *ü* is usually represented by *u* with one dot over it or by *ü*, but has been unrounded to *i* in *migest* 1. 6. M.H.G. *iu* is written in three ways, firstly *ü* in *süsslich*, *hüt*, &c., secondly, *ie* in *müessest* 3. 4, and thirdly *ie* in *miesset* 2. 10, *hüt* 3. 8. M.H.G. *iu* is written *ü* in *unküsch* 2. 10 and *hütten* 4. 1, but always *ai* in *fraind* (Bohnenberger, *Zur Geschichte der schwäbischen Mundart im 15ten Jhdt.*, Tübingen, 1892, quotes examples from a Fürstenberg charter of 1409 and a treatise from Augsburg which has been reprinted in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde der Germanischen Alterthümer* for 1874-5). M.H.G. *b* is written *p* initially and after prefixes several times, also in *hapt* 5. 2. M.H.G. *d*, *f*, *c* have been levelled out to *d*, *b*, *g* by analogy with the oblique cases. *-ht*, *-mt*, *sw-* are always *-cht*, *-mpt*, *schw-*. Once in *verlechen* (sic) 7. 3, *h* has become *ch*. *t* has been added in *democht* 3. 4. *s* and *z* are both represented by *s*, but *z* appears for *-es* after *t* in *gemüzt* 2. 3, *nichtz unrechtz* 4. 3, *gultz murtz* 2. 2.

CHAPTER III

THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN MELIBEUS

THIS translation of the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* has been fully treated by Leo Hohenstein in his dissertation quoted above. Unfortunately Hohenstein did not print his critical text, but selections from the *Melibeus* are to be found in vol. 12 of Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*. The following lines contain a brief abstract of the results of Hohenstein's research.

We possess six MSS. and five early prints of the *Melibeus*, viz.:

I. MSS.

A, cod. germ. 756 of the Bairische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, fols. 1-21. Paper, 44 leaves, late 15th century.

K, Cgm 403 of the same library. This MS. has been described in Chapter I above.

L, Cgm 4437, also in the Bairische Staatsbibliothek, is a much mutilated MS. consisting of various fragments written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The conclusion of the *Melibeus* is on fols. 95-6.

B, fols. 1-26 of MS. HBX Philos. 22 of the Oeffentliche Bibliothek, Stuttgart. 263 leaves, paper, 1470.

J, MS. 2801 of the Hofbibliothek, Vienna, fol. 62-75, 1465.

H, the MS. used by Vetter, is now in the Stadtbibliothek, Zürich.

II. The Prints.

C, printed by Bämmler, Augsburg, 1473. See Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, No. 11048.

D, printed by Sorg, Augsburg, 1480, Hain, No. 11049.

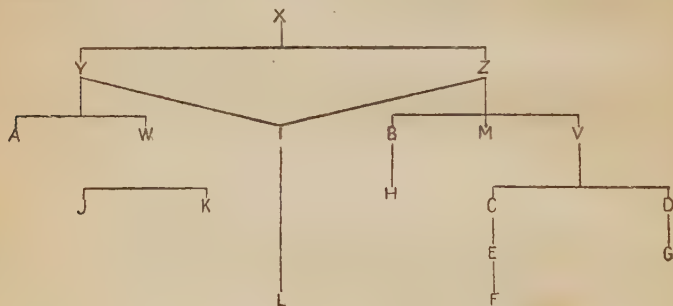
E bears neither date nor place of printing. See Hain, *op. cit.*, No. 11047.

F, printed by Hanssen Schobser, Augsburg, 1496. Hain, No. 11050.

G, also printed by Hanssen Schobser, Munich, 1520. See Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, vol. iii, No. 1589.

With the exception of E, which contains Alsatian forms, all the MSS. and the prints are in the Swabian dialect.

From certain errors and lacunae Hohenstein concludes that the MSS. and prints fall into two groups, both of which go back to a common archetype X. He sets up the following scheme:



EFGH, being merely copies of other documents, have no critical value. L, which occupies a position midway between the two groups, is not to be relied upon. On the whole, BMCD have the best text; in many cases the correct reading has been preserved in B and its copy H alone.

As certain sections of the original, namely the Dedication and Chapters vi and viii, which are wanting in Jean de Meun's French version, appear in the *Melibeus* as Chapters *Von der wisheit* and *Von der nucz der wisheit*, it follows that the latter must have been translated directly from the Latin. A few Latinisms in the language confirm this. Many of the quotations have been omitted by the translator, and, in addition, Chapters vii and xxviii of the original version. A large part of Chapters ix and x has also been passed over. The translation

breaks off in the middle of Chapter xxix (*Quando consilium et promissum possit vel debeat mutari*). Melibeus then admits that his wife's wisdom is unassailable and begs her to make his peace with the enemies, which she succeeds in doing. The omitted chapters could not be spared, as they were necessary to explain Melibeus's apparently unintelligible change of attitude. The translator appears to have wearied of his task and added the first conclusion which came into his head.

Generally speaking, the translation is not over-free. The author rarely contents himself with a mere paraphrase, but he has made a number of errors.

Hohenstein has not touched the question of the relations between the *Melibeus* and the second part of *Lere und Underweisung*. Although the two translations supplement each other to some extent, each having preserved sections of the original which are wanting in the other, they overlap in many places, and when this happens the two versions always differ so much that they can never have been intended to form a single work, and there is no evidence that either was influenced by the other. It is certain, however, that the editor who prepared the print R of the complete translation for the press had the *Melibeus* before him, for he interpolated two passages of the latter into his own text, namely: after *Lere und Underweisung* II. 4. 10 *Als Salomon spricht: 'Der weg des toren ist gerecht in seinen augen aber der weys suocht rat'* (*Prov.* 12. 15). In the *Melibeus* this passage is in its right place, namely, in the chapter '*Von der nucz der wisheit*', whereas in the other translation it is not. The second interpolation follows II. 6. 10 of *Lere und Underweisung*. It is too long to be quoted here, but one sentence cannot be passed over, as it is a complete misrepresentation of the original: *Ob ain zorniger guot rat geit, so ist er doch nicht ze schaeczen* = *Iratus etiam consilium facinus esse putat*.

As *terminus ante quem* for the *Melibeus* we have the year 1465, when J, the earliest dated MS., was written.

CHAPTER IV

MEISTER ALBERTUS LERE

§ 1. Introduction

WE come now to the verse adaptation called *Meister Albertus Lere*. It has been placed last on our list, as only about half of it has been taken from Albertanus's writings; nevertheless it is by a long way the oldest of the German versions, and, in some respects, the most interesting. We shall see later that it was probably written in the Wetterau about the middle of the fourteenth century.

§ 2. The Sources of the Poem

Of the 971 lines of the poem, the first part, i. e. lines 1-247, is based on the *De Doctrina Dicendi et Tacendi*; the second part, i. e. lines 248-436, is derived from the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*; and the third part, i. e. lines 437 to the end, is taken from some as yet unidentified theological treatise on marriage, household management, and the training of children. We shall now examine each part in detail.

PART I

Part 1, then, is derived, ultimately at least, from the *De Doctrina Dicendi et Tacendi*. As in the other translations, many whole sections and most of the quotations from the remainder have been omitted. Our poem, in fact, comprises only a small selection from Albertanus's own words, and of the quotations from the Bible and Cato's *Disticha*. Of the many quotations from non-Christian sources, only one (L. 97) has been retained, and that without the author's name. In fact, all names except Cato, Solomon, and the saints Peter, James, and Paul have been suppressed; even

the Apocryphal Jesus filius Sydrach has been reduced to 'ein wise man'.

In lines 49-50, 89, 133-8, 203-6 the poet has not followed Albertanus's arrangement of the arguments. He has enlarged on his sources in lines 70-2, 110-12, 153-62, 172-6, 181-3, 191-6, 201-2, 211-12, 219-22, and inserted three passages, lines 51-4, 207-10, 227-48, from the *De Amore Dei et Proximi et Aliarum Rerum*.

Albertanus's treatises appear to have made their way from, Italy into Germany by two routes. The MSS. which passed over the mountains into Swabia gave rise to the three prose versions, but *Meister Albertus Lere* apparently owes its inception to those which came through France and the Netherlands.

As far as the first part of the poem is concerned, this is suggested by the fact that there is internal evidence of some, admittedly remote, connexion with the shorter Latin version of the *De Doctrina Dicendi*, printed at Paris in 1491. There can be no question of direct translation on either side, because the passages corresponding to lines 1-30, 103-12, and 181-90 of the poem are wanting in the Latin, and on the other hand the Latin adaptation agrees much more closely with the original than the German does. There is no sign in the shortened Latin version of an attempt to eliminate the quotations of pagan origin or to suppress the authors' names. In the sequence of the arguments it agrees with Albertanus against the German (where the passage has not been omitted altogether), and the German alone has the interpolations from the *De Amore Dei*. On the other hand, it terminates at the point (L. 227) where the German leaves the *De Doctrina Dicendi* in order to add a conclusion from the *De Amore Dei*, and there is a most interesting resemblance between this version and the poem in the method of numbering the six sections, i. e. in lines 35, 63, 113, 117, 213, and especially lines 147-9:

*Zu dem vierden male, betracht
auch daz, Umb welche sache
und umb waz Du redest . . .*

*Quarto requiras cur et qua
intentione dicas . . .*

Also line 118: *So du im din heimelichkeit kunt* is closer to *Tali igitur animum tuum et secreta poteris aperire* of the shorter version than to Albertanus's *Amico loqui bene et certe potes*. The strongest piece of evidence, however, is in line 200: *Der antwurt lutzel und hore vil*. Here the original text runs: . . . *si feceris optima et locutus fueris pauca*, whereas the shorter version has: *Audias ergo plurima, responde ad pauca*.

From what has been said above it is obvious that this shorter Latin version could not have been the source of the German poem nor vice versa, but it is hardly conceivable that the close resemblances between them could have arisen by chance. It appears more probable that both were independently derived from an intermediate Latin version (X), the passages from the *De Amore Dei* being inserted by our poet alone.

The following diagram illustrates the origin of this part of the poem :



The control of the tongue was a popular subject in the Middle Ages. Among German works in which it is treated mention may be made of: *Die Lilie* (D.T.M. XV). 8.25-16.6; Freidank's *Bescheidenheit* 164, 165.20; *Die hl. Regel für ein vollkommenes Leben* (ed. Priebisch, D.T.M. XVI) 5.20, 53.10-55.2; Reimar v. Zweter (ed. Roethe) 94 and 95; *Spruch von der Zunge* (Liedersaal XV). Of these, the first two at least are older than Albertanus's treatise. All are arranged on a different plan, and there is no evidence that they had any direct influence on the poem. The *De vitiis linguae* of Johannes Cues is a totally different work.

PART 2

The ultimate source of the second part of the poem (lines 249-436) is the third and last of Albertanus's treatises, the *Liber consolationis et consilii*. Our poem comprises only a small selection of passages dealing with the choice of advisers and the testing of their counsel—a mere fraction of Albertanus's work. Quotations from non-Christian authors have not been excluded, but the names have been suppressed, as before. In this part also the poet appears to have had an intermediate source, the connexion this time being with the popularized French translation made by Jean de Meun.

Our poem agrees, on the whole, more closely with the wording of the Latin than with that of the French. Thus, lines 285-90 and 351-68 are not paralleled in the French, but bear some resemblance to the Latin. The poet has followed the Latin by inserting line 348, which refers to the value of the advice of old men, in a passage dealing with the counsel of loyal friends; whereas the Frenchman has reserved it for its logical place, i. e. in the passage corresponding to line 369 fol. Again, line 387: *Hast du wol vernomen eben* translates *Viso et diligenter cognito*, and not *Après que je t'ai montré*. Hence it is perfectly clear that the poem is not derived from the French version. On the other hand, the German has omitted all the passages which are missing in the French (see Sundby's edition of the *Liber Consolationis*, p. xix), and more also. Further, lines 372-3 agree with the French against the Latin:

	(<i>Les anciens.</i>)	(<i>In antiquis</i>)
<i>Manigetz daz sie hab-</i>	<i>qui assez ont veu et</i>	<i>est sapientia et in</i>
<i>ent gesehen und daz</i>	<i>assez ont éprouvé</i>	<i>longo tempore pru-</i>
<i>sie auch besuchet</i> ¹		<i>dentia</i>
<i>hant</i>		

This is an isolated, but a striking case, and it is difficult to believe that it is due to a mere coincidence. Possibly, therefore, both the French and the German versions are

¹ *besuchet* = *versuchet*; cp. Lillie (*Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, XV) 53. 8.

descended from a Latin copy which contained this error ; the German being a more literal but less complete rendering than the French.

The poet has enlarged on his source a little in lines 260-8, 337-40. More important additions are lines 276-84, 363-6, which resemble the opening lines of Herbot's *Lied von Troja*, and 367-8. Lines 431-6, a conclusion in general terms, are not paralleled in the Latin or French.

From line 375 onwards Albertanus's order is not followed.

PART 3

The third part of the poem, lines 437 to the end, is divided into four sections :

1. Lines 437-787 containing :

(a) 437-638, an account of the origin, nature, and object of marriage as a Christian institution.

(b) 639-787, Christian principles governing the conduct of husband and wife.

2. Lines 788-851 :

The management of children and children's duty towards their parents.

3. Lines 852-913 :

A servant's duty to his master and vice versa.

4. Lines 914 to end :

A conclusion in general terms.

I know of no work, either Latin or German, from which this part of the poem could have been translated or borrowed in its entirety.

Certain passages in sections 1, 2, and 3 bear some resemblance to the chapters of Albertanus's *De Amore Dei*, Liber I, headed : 'De uxore diligenda', 'De amore filiorum', and 'De servientibus et mercenariis' respectively. Section 4 is reminiscent of the concluding chapters of the *De Amore Dei*, Liber II : 'De consciis bonis in opibus', 'De operibus et labore manuum et negotiatione', 'De luxuria', 'De ocio fugiendo', and 'De opibus acquirendis et conservandis et

etiam retinendis', but it is impossible to quote parallels. This treatise may well have influenced the poet here, for we have seen that he made use of it in Part I.

Although we cannot point to the actual source of this part of the poem, there is no room for doubt as to the field of literature in which it is to be sought.

Turning first to the section devoted to marriage, we find that the arguments are, with two exceptions, those which occur again and again in the writings of the Fathers,¹ and consequently in the sermons.

Thus, after an introduction in general terms (437-516), including a word about the immortality of the soul (483-506), the poet proceeds to justify marriage as a Christian institution on the grounds that it had been established by God Himself in Paradise, before the Fall, and that Christ had set His seal upon it by His presence at the Marriage Feast in Cana (517-98).

These were standard arguments of the Church against men and women cohabiting without marriage, and against the Ascetics who, on the strength of a single verse of St. Paul,² asserted that women were inferior beings, and that marriage was, at best, a necessary evil.³ The second chapter of St. John's Gospel, where the Marriage Feast in Cana is described, is the Gospel prescribed for the Second Sunday after Epiphany, and was very frequently made the text for a sermon on the nature and duties of married life.⁴

¹ The Church naturally devoted a great deal of attention to marriage in all its aspects. Abundant references to the Patristic writings on the subject are given in the Indices to Migne's *Patrology*; cf. vol. 219: *Index* 106 *De Matrimonio*, 111 *Index liturgicus*, and 119 *Index disciplinaris Tit.* 63.

² 1 Cor. 7. 25.

³ See, for example, *Augustinus contra Jul. Pelag.*, V. 50: . . . *malo bene uti non est peccatum*; cf. also id. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, I. 17; and Th. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I, q. 2, art. 1.

⁴ Migne, vol. 219: *Index* 44 *Index capitulorum sacrae scripturae*. Joh. 2 gives a list of the Fathers' utterances. For German sermons see Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jhdts.*, Abth. II, Dom. II post Epiphaniam;

Another standard argument is given in lines 605-14. Lines 547-52

... *in der cristenheit*
Die e heizet ein heilikeit, &c.,

are also an echo of the controversies with the Ascetics and with those who denied that marriage was one of the sacraments.¹

Much space is devoted to advice and warnings to married people. It is, in fact, the style of a popular preacher, who wishes to combine doctrine and moral teaching according to the needs of his congregation. We are reminded of Berthold von Regensburg's sermon on this subject (see notes to text). A touch of originality appears in lines 554-78, where certain portions of the marriage ritual, including the 'Beilager', are said to be symbolical of the marriage of Adam and Eve in Paradise. This is remarkable because the 'Beilager', being a purely 'civil' ceremony of pagan origin, is not often mentioned in ecclesiastical literature, except in connexion with the controversies about the compulsory celebration of marriage in church.² I know of no source for the poet's interpretation.

The poet has left the beaten track in one other place, namely, lines 699-702, where he says that a man should remember that his wife has left father, mother, and friends for his sake. This time we know his guide, for Bruder

Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten*, vol. ii, No. 13; vol. iii, No. 8. Passages from these and others are quoted in the notes to the text. Especially interesting are the sermons of Bruder Peregrinus, *Dom. Prima post Epiph.* (Latin), and Berthold von Regensburg, No. XXI, ed. Pfeiffer Strobl (German).

¹ This question is discussed by (for example) Hugo de Sto. Victore, *Summa Sententiarum, Tractatus VII, De sacramentis connubii*, and Petrus Lombardus, *De sacramentis*, IV, *Dist. XXVI*.

² E. Friedberg, *Recht der Eheschliessung in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1865, has given an exhaustive account of the civil and ecclesiastical law of marriage contract from the birth of Christ to the nineteenth century. Passages from Canon Law, &c., are quoted in the notes to the text.

Peregrinus¹ alone has given this turn to the familiar words : *Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave unto his wife . . .*² (The text of Peregrinus's sermon is, as usual, the second chapter of St. John's Gospel.) Lines 539-46 and 594-8 are a passable rendering of Peregrinus's words, and lines 699-714 may well have been based on a passage in the sermon. Some close connexion there must be, but the evidence is insufficient to prove that the poet used the sermon in its present form. On the other hand, the fact that he lacks a number of Peregrinus's most effective passages does not prove the contrary, for we have seen that he omitted more than he took over from Albertanus. Hence, we can only say that this section of the poem is based on one or more theological treatises on marriage, probably on the sermons of popular preachers like Berthold von Regensburg, and is certainly influenced, directly or indirectly, by this sermon of Bruder Peregrinus.

In the second section also we hear the voice of the popular preacher, and here again the sermons of Berthold von Regensburg furnish numbers of similar passages (see notes). We cannot point to standard theological arguments because the Fathers wrote mainly about baptism, which the poet does not mention, and the religious training of children, of which he says little (824-5). He warns parents neither to spoil their children (792 fol.) nor be unduly severe (834 fol.), but to teach them *zucht und wisheit* (823), *waz recht und unrecht getan si* (827 fol.), and a trade (830).

The Fathers and Canon Law are silent also concerning the duties of master and servant, but again Berthold von

¹ Bruder Peregrinus preached to the people in Germany at the end of the thirteenth century. His German sermons are lost, but Latin sermons for Sundays and Feast-days have survived (see Cruel, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, § 28). There are several old prints, but no modern edition. It may be mentioned in passing that the second of the *Glossae aus dem 14ten Jhd.*, published by Lütolf in Birlinger's *Alemannia*, vol. ii, p. 28 fol., contains extracts translated from the sermon quoted.

² *Gen.* 2. 24.

Regensburg, especially in his sixth sermon, furnishes close parallels to the words of the poet.

The last section calls for no special comment, owing to the purely general nature of its contents. With a series of pious exhortations it forms a fitting close to a didactic poem in which practical morality is of more account than theological controversy, and strengthens the view that the whole was taken from the sermons of a popular preacher. As St. Paul treats of these subjects in the same order in the fifth and sixth chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians, this portion of Scripture may have been the text.

§ 3. Authorship.

As the first two parts of *Meister Albertus Lere* are both derived from the same Latin sources and do not differ in dialect, metre, or style, we can safely assume identity of authorship. The third part, particularly in the section dealing with married life, shows more signs of clerical influence than the earlier ones; but this is inevitable owing to the nature of the subjects treated. Hence, dialect, metre, and literary style being the same throughout the poem, we have no reason to doubt that the whole is the work of one man.

The author has left very little evidence concerning himself. He does not give his name, and says nothing about the circumstances which led him to take up the pen. There are no allusions to historical events or to a patron, and there is no dedication to, or invocation of, a saint or teacher. We cannot even be certain whether he was a layman or one of the 'wise paffen' to whom he refers in line 633. In favour of the latter hypothesis are the pious and God-fearing tone in which he writes, the insertion of lines 275-284 in praise of the wisdom of God, and the fact that in the third part of the poem he draws not only his material, but many standard phrases, from ecclesiastical sources. Yet his attitude to his theme is not entirely clerical, for he says very little about

religious training and makes no reference to the baptism of children, to the mystical parallels which the theologians loved to draw between the relationship of Christ to His Church and of Man to Woman, or to the symbolical significance attached to the six jars of water at the Marriage Feast in Cana. Practical morality, rather than religious enthusiasm, is the keynote of the poem. Perhaps he was a layman, 'eingerelter schulere', who had acquired his knowledge of ecclesiastical literature at a monastery-school.

§ 4. Style.

The extracts taken from Albertanus have been chosen systematically, without important repetitions, digressions, or gaps in the argument. Occasionally the poet translates very freely, as, for example, in the introduction, lines 1-34, and, as we saw in examining the sources of the second part, he has not always followed Albertanus's order. Nevertheless, the accuracy of the rendering is, on the whole, such that he must have had the Latin before him as he worked. We are certainly not dealing, in the first two parts at least, with a précis from memory, although the insertion of passages from the *De Amore Dei* and other additions show that he allowed himself a certain freedom of judgement.

The third part also is, on the whole, logically arranged, but there is a long digression in lines 483-506, and here, even more than in the earlier parts, the poet passes abruptly from one argument to another. In spite of this abruptness, his work cannot be called fragmentary or incoherent. Lines 882-3 do not suit the context in which they occur. The theme is the duty of the servant, and these two lines can only apply to the master. From their presence here it appears that the poet had been rather carelessly selecting extracts from the text before him and translating as he read.

His attitude to his subject is entirely matter of fact. He delivers his message concisely, without making any display of learning or personal comment or adding *exempla* or other

adornment of any kind. Only twice does he illustrate his words by means of an allusion to the events of everyday life (lines 20 fol. and 413 fol.). Both passages occur in the Latin source. In the third part he gives the conventional interpretation of Christ's acts at the Marriage Feast in Cana, and adds a symbolical explanation of the ritual of the marriage service.

The Latin original has had little influence on the poet's diction. The only obvious case is in the rendering of:

'Quis, quid, cui dicas, cur, quomodo, quando requiras'
in lines 31-2:

Und merke *wer*, waz oder wem
Du zu sprichest . . .

Many formal expressions are taken from the didactic and religious language of the day.

Although the poet did not repeat his arguments, he did not hesitate to repeat such single words or pairs of words as *und*, *oder*, *und sol*, *und sollent*. Disconnected ideas are frequently joined by *und*, e.g. lines 279-83, 468-71, 507-15, 640-3, 655-7, 816-17, 823-7, 916-19.

§ 5. The Metre

Although the author of *Meister Albertus Lere* did not write the polished verse of a Konrad von Würzburg, he was by no means indifferent to the sound of his lines. His rhymed couplets are based on the rules of the classical period as modified in Low and Middle Germany at the close of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century. The distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables is maintained, but feminine lines of four beats are numerous, the 'Auftakt' is irregular, and a certain harshness is sometimes produced by overloaded feet and by conflict between the natural and the rhythmical stress. 'Beschwerte Hebung' also is common in all parts of the line, and owing to the lengthening of short vowels in open syllables such words as *geben*, *reden* frequently

occupy the whole of a foot. Of the 971 lines of our poem, 224 (i.e. 112 couplets) are feminine, an unusually large proportion for the fourteenth century, and we are obliged to recognize about half of these as having four beats. This does not include a few examples which can be reduced to regular masculine lines by syncope of *-e-* before *-t*, but not more than a dozen can be eliminated by assuming ecthipsis of *-e-* before *-n*.

§ 6. Description and Relationship of the Manuscripts

Meister Albertus Lere has come down to us in four MSS. : S, P, D, and B.

S

S,¹ MS. Allemand 150 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, consists of two distinct MSS. in one old binding. The first, fols. 1-201 of the complete MS., is dated 1418, and contains Otto von Diemeringen's version of the Travels of Mandeville. The second, now fols. 202-356 of the whole, is a paper MS., which, as we know from an entry on fol. 344 r,² was written at Spire in 1419. It contains an account in prose of the history of the World from the Creation to the death of Alexander the Great and a number of religious and didactic poems. The first part of *Meister Albertus Lere* is on fols. 263 r-268 r. Then, below two ornamented lines, in smaller letters but apparently in the same hand as the rest of the MS., there is the following note :

¹ A full description of S and P has been sent by Prof. R. Priebisch to the Hss.-Archiv of the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Extracts from the former have been published by Jessie Crossland, 'A German version of the thief legend,' *Mod. Lang. Review*, i. 55 fol.; and L. A. Willoughby, 'Two M.H.G. poems: "Die vunfzehn zeichen" and "Wie got das Jüngste Gericht besitzen sol",' *Mod. Lang. Review*, v. 297 fol.

² *Superscriptio scriptoris huius libri: Dis buch ist geschribn und vollebracht in dem Jare do man zalte von Cristi geburte vierzehn hundert und Neunzehn Jare Off Sant Stephanes dag dez heiligen Babstes und Mertelers als die alt kirch wyhyge ist des Herren Stifles der Statd zu Spir.*

*Hie gebrist dez vorgūt Meister Albertus Lere
ein gantze sextern die findest du zu
leste in disem buche und fahet also an
wie gar nutze fragen sy und hat
ēy rot crutzel als hie auch eins steld.*

The remainder is to be found, as promised, at the end of the MS., on fols. 345 r-356 v.

The whole MS. is the work of a single scribe, who signs himself on fol. 356 v: *Corin Schriber Ein gūt geselle.*

The script is a neat and easily legible Gothic minuscule with traces of cursive, especially in the looped *d* and *w*. The *a* is closed at the top and bottom; usually a dot, but sometimes a stroke, is placed over the *i* before and after *m* and *n* only; the *r* is always upright, and the cross-stroke of final *t* is adorned with a short vertical hairline. There are no illustrations, but the letters on the top line of each page have been most elaborately ornamented.

Orthography: The doubling of consonants, which was so popular from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, is not common in this MS., *f* alone being at all commonly doubled. In lines 398, 964 *ffragen*, doubling replaces the customary capital at the beginning of the line. *l* and *m* are also occasionally doubled. *k* after consonants is written *ck*. The doubling of *t* will be discussed under *Dialect of the MS.* *e* is doubled in *gee* 667, *mee*: *ersee* 495, 505 only. *h* as a mark of length occurs once: *geht* 711. *-cht* is always used for *-ht*. Medial *zz*, *z* (from Germanic *t*) is represented by *ss* or *ß*, final *z* (from *t*) by *z*, *ß*, and occasionally by *s*. *z* is used for *s* in *dez* (*des* occurs three times only) and in *waz* (N.H.G. *war*), showing that the two sounds had fallen together and therefore the signs had come to be used indiscriminately. (*Waz* for *was* occurs in the charters of Worms, cf. Boos, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms*, vol. ii, No. 339 (1344), p. 239, l. 16, and p. 240, ll. 8 and 13, also No. 433 (1351), p. 299, l. 13.) *sz* represents *s* once only: *loß* 546. Before *l*, *k* is always written *c*, medially after consonants *ck* is usual, finally *g* is used by analogy with the oblique cases. *y* is very commonly

used for *i* and *î*, and *y* represents M.H.G. *ie* in *vyntschaft*, *yrgent*, *yglich*, *yderman*, six times in all. The form *ij* occurs in *zijt* eight times, and in *lijp*, *wijp*, *gijt* once each. Umlaut of *a* and *â* has been fully carried out and is written *e*, as is usual in Middle German MSS. Umlaut of *o* and *ô* is not marked, and the signs *u*, *ü*, and *u* with a curved stroke over it are used indiscriminately for the simple, the modified, and the diphthongial *u*-sounds. *uo* is also written *u* with *o* above it. For the use of this sign to represent M.H.G. *iu* in *fruondschaft* see under *Dialect*.

Dialect: The most important dialectical phenomena are the following: *e* for M.H.G. *i*: *weder* four times, *wederfert* once, *vechtet* once. *ie* for *i*: *sieden*, *niede*, *geschiecht* once each, *frieden fryeden* three times, *bieden* four times beside *bitten* twice. *ge* for *ie*: *flogern* 681 under the influence of the *r* and the spirant Middle German *g*. M.H.G. *ie* has become *u* in *umner*, *numner*. (Wolter, *Sanct Galler Spiel vom Leben Jesu, Germanistische Abhandlungen*, No. 41, p. 18, § 5, and n. 3, quotes examples from *Elisabeth, Oxforder Benedictinerregel*, &c., and characters of the Wetterau and Südnassau. John Meier, *Germ. Abh.*, No. 7, *Bruder Hermann's Leben der hl. Jolande von Vianden*, p. xxxiii, explains the form as *nun* (= *niuwan*) *man*.) *o* for *u* is common, as is to be expected in a Middle German MS.; it is always used in *mogen* and in all forms of *sollen*; it also occurs in *son*, *kortzer*, *scholt*, *orlop*, *worden* once each. *o* for *ü*: *konig* four times, *vorbas* once. *o* for *û*: *off offrecht offsten* five times. For *ü*, *iu* see above under *Orthography*. *u* with *o* above it for M.H.G. *iu* in *fruondschaft* 83: Wolter, *op. cit.*, p. 57, writes: 'Die Schreibung *uo* = Mhd *iu* ist im Moselfränkischen nicht häufig, heimisch dagegen in Hessen und Rheinfranken.' He quotes examples from the charters of Oberhessen, the Wetterau, and Süd-Nassau. It also occurs in the Worms charters from 1327 onwards (cp. Boos, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, No. 209), and is common in the Upper Saxon sermons in Leyser's collection. There is an example in the MS. G of the *Titurel* (*tuoten* 64. 1), and the

Alsatian MS. P of *Meister Albertus Lere* has two: *fluoch* 134, 136. *ou* is always written *au*. The Middle German extension of the Umlaut appears in *gleuben*, but the unmodified form has remained in *frawwen* (N.H.G. *freuen*). *ei* for *öu* in *freyde* 909: Wolter, *op. cit.*, p. 57, writes: 'Schließlich weist das *ei* für *öu* in *vreide* auf dieses Gebiet (Hessen und Rheinfranken), wo es in den Urkunden, besonders in der Wetterau, häufig zu belegen ist, aber auch in Oberhessen, Süd-Nassau und Rhein-Hessen vereinzelt vorkommt, und sich südwärts bis Speier erstreckt.' (Ehrismann, *P.B.B.* 22, 264, notes examples in the Rh. Fr. MS. C of the *Minneburg*.) M.H.G. *t* is written alternately *t*, *tt*, and *d*. Initially, *d* occurs 35 times and *t* 22 times; *t* is always used after a prefix. Medially between vowels *d* occurs 61 times, *t* 19 times, and *tt* 17 times; medially after *n* we invariably find *d*, but *t* after *l* and *r*; the ending of the weak preterite is always *-te*. Finally *t* is the rule except in *und*. This high percentage of *d* in a Spires MS. suggests an original from further North. The examples occurring on fols. 281 v-292 r have been collected by L. A. Willoughby, *Modern Language Review*, vol. v, p. 205, with similar results. (Cf. Oskar Böhme, *Zur Kenntnis des Oberfränkischen im 13., 14. und 15. Jhd.*, Diss. Leipzig, 1893.) M.H.G. *p* occurs initially once only and is written *b*: *bredigere* 151; finally it has remained: *lop*, &c. Gmc. *p* has been shifted to *pf* in the few cases in which it occurs at all, viz.: *pfaffen*, *pfliget*, *schopfers*, and *phaffen* once each. Medially after consonants we find the modern form *f*: *helfen*, &c. M.H.G. *h* is written *h* before *s*: *wahssen*, *sehsten*, *mahst*, but usually *ch*, occasionally *h*, before *t*: *machtu*, *nacht*, *slecht*, beside *sleht*, *voht*, *vohten*, *forchten*, *geschicht*. Loss of *r* before *-cht* occurs in *vocht* 425, *vochten* 507, 796. Wolter, *op. cit.*, p. 54, notes this as specially Hessian, but not found in Spires. The form *forchten* (in rhyme with *zuchten*) 657, 864 proves that *vochten* was not natural to the scribe, but was taken over from the original. *Apocope and Syncope*: The scribe omits the unaccented *e* more often than is usual in Middle German MSS.

Conclusion.

The dialectical peculiarities of the MS. do not altogether conform to the practice of Spires in the early part of the fifteenth century. The numerous examples of *d* = Gmc. *d* suggest a more northerly influence, and the loss of *r* before *-cht* was characteristic of Hesse, which, as we shall see later, was the home of the poet. On the other hand, initial *p*, which remained in M. and Rh. Franconian, but had disappeared from Spires documents by 1300 (vid. Böhme, *op. cit.*, p. 72), has been shifted in all cases. There appears therefore to be no reason to doubt that the scribe was a native of Spires and took over certain details from his original.

P

P, MS. Allemand 117, also of the Bibliothèque Nationale, is a rough paper MS. of 218 leaves (modern computation), measuring 29.1 × 20.7 cms. The script, a Gothic minuscule with a strong admixture of cursive, shows that the MS. belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century. The *a* is closed, the *r* is upright, and *i* appears both with and without a dot (rarely with a stroke), without regard to the preceding and following letters. It is frequently difficult to distinguish *a* and *e* from *o*, and *c* from *t*. The whole MS. was written by one scribe. There are no illustrations, but below line 574 (fol. 54 v) the title of one which has been preserved in B has been incorporated in the text. P contains a number of religious and didactic poems; *Meister Albertus Lere* being on fols. 41 v-63 r.

Orthography: Doubling of consonants is even less common than in S.

Medial *zz*, *z* (from Gmc. *t*) is usually represented by *ss*, e.g. *besser*, *lassen*, *grosse*, *bisset*; once by *s*: *wisent* (= *wissen*) 633. Finally, *s* is usual both for *z* and *s*. In this respect the difference between S and P is very marked, as only seven examples of *daz* and four of *waz* occur in the latter. *us* occurs

ten times beſide one example of *usz* 590. *sz* occurs alſo in *groſz* 816, *lieſz* 524 (*lies* 521), *laſz* 68, *biſz* 805 (*bicz* 38, 218, 414), *unſz* (= *unser*) five times, *huſz* 810, *boſzheit* 168, 170 (beſide *böſſen* 225, *böſe* 229, &c.), *wiſzlich* 347, *wiſzheit* 262, &c., and *wiſſzheit* 805. Thus the ſcribe wrote *sz* only at the end of the word or before a ſuffix.

M.H.G. final *k* (*c*) from *g* is uſually *g*, but *ck* occurs in *enweck* 859. *-ht* and *ou* have been retained. *y* is comparatively rare. Here again P is a great contrast to S.

Umlaut of *a* and *â* is written *e*, as was uſual in M.G. and Alſatian MSS. Umlaut of *o* and *ô* is marked, but not conſiſtently, e.g. *gehörde* 202, *hören* 132, &c., *frölich* 181, *böſe* 84, *götlich* 175, but *gotlicher* 657. Theſe dots are probably more than mere vowel ſigns, for they have, as we ſhall ſee below, a definite meaning when placed on *u*, and are rarely uſed on *o* without reaſon, as in *tören* (acc. pl.) 801, (dat. pl.) 128. In *ſchöne* (adv.) 401, *böſzheit* 168, 170, they are probably due to the influence of the adjectives *ſchæne*, *bæſe*.

An attempt has clearly been made to diſtinguiſh between the different *u*-ſounds. M.H.G. *ü*, *iu* (from *û*), and *iu* (diphthong) are written *u* or *u* (with one dot), whereas *üe* is represented by *ü*. *uo* is written *u* with *o* above it, but occaſionally *ü*, as in *rüffen* 285, *rüten* 804, where the *ü* probably represents *u* with *e* above it = *uo*, a ſpecially Alſatian ſign (H,¹ § 18 b). Twice *u* with *o* above it represents *iu*: *flûch* 134, 136 (ſee note under Dialect of S).

With regard to the value of theſe ſigns, Haendcke, § 6 c, p. 12, *iu* > *i*, writes: ‘. . . *i u ü* bezeichnen in der Tat nur denſelben Laut, das *i*.’ Cf. alſo H., § 13 b, *iu* > *û*, and Weinhold, *A. Gr.*, § 137. *u* and *u* with one dot, but not *ü*, are uſed to represent *i*, occaſionally alſo *î* and *ie*, e.g.: *u* and *u* with one dot (1) = M.H.G. *i*: (a) after *s*: *suben* *subende* three times; (b) after *w*: *wurt* always, *wurdig*; alſo: *funften*, *multe*, *nut* always; (2) = M.H.G. *î*: *zwüfel* three times, *su* (pres. subj.

¹ H = Haendcke: *Die mundartlichen Elemente in den elsässischen Urkunden des Strassburger Urkundenbuches*.

of *wesen*) seven times, *kufeln* once; (3) = M.G.H. *ie*: *zuhen*: *fluhen* once. (Cf. Haendcke, § 6 c: '... *u, ü* geben nur den *i*-laut wieder... Dem heutigen Dialekt entspricht die Form *wurt*. Es läßt sich schwer feststellen, ob in *wurt* tatsächlich die in der heutigen Mundart geläufige Form zu sehen ist.')

Dialect: The dialect of the scribe was Alsatian. *ô* for *â* is common. Resistance to Umlaut appears in *haltet* three times and extension of Umlaut in *segen*, *snettern*, *fregen*, *geberen* once each. *ö* for *e*: *zörn*, *schöppfers*, *wöllent* (in all other cases the *e*-forms of *wellen* are used) once each, *mönsch* four times. The Alemanic and Middle German *o* for *ou* appears in *frowen* (N.H.G. *Frauen*) four times, and once in the sense of N.H.G. *freuen*, and also with *g* for *w* in *frogen*. In unaccented syllables it appears in *ougbrogen* and *bruloff* once each. *oi* for *öu*, as was common in Alsatian documents of the fourteenth century and later, occurs in *zoyget*, *froyde*, and *fraide*, five times in all. M.H.G. *t* is usually written *t*, but *d* occurs in the following cases: *dun dut* 13 times, but *tun tut* 18 times; *dag tag tegelich* once each; *dor* once, but *tor torheit* 12 times; *dete dote dotlich* once each. Medially between vowels and after *l* and *r* it is always written *t* but after *n* it is always *d*. *t* has been doubled medially after a short vowel in a few instances only. Finally *t* is invariably used except in *und*. A *t* has very often been appended to the Infinitive and to other forms, where it does not belong. The specifically Alsatian *g* for *j* occurs in *giner* twice, *fruge* three times, *sige*, *figent*, *leige* once each. *g* for *w* appears in *froge* twice and *ougbrogen* once. *Apocope and Syncope*: In medial and final syllables the scribe had a strong tendency to preserve the unaccented *e* even against the requirements of the metre.

D

D, MS. M 60 of the Landes-, formerly Königliche Bibliothek, Dresden,¹ is a rough paper MS. of the first half of the fifteenth

¹ See Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Hss. der königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, vol. ii, p. 461.

century containing the ſame poems in the ſame order as P. Many leaves have been torn out, including ſome of thoſe which bore portions of our poem. There remain 173, now numbered conſecutively, measuring 28.5 × 21.5 cms.

The MS. contains a large number of pen-drawings, which have been filled in with colours, thoſe illustrating our poem being:

1. Fol. 36 v, at the beginning of the poem: A bearded man wearing a conical hat and a long flowing robe, inſtructing a youth from a book. The pupil has long curly hair and his tunic reaches well below the knee (cf. the correſponding picture in B, where the tunic is much ſhorter).

2. Fol. 45 v, at the head of the ſection dealing with the duties of parents and children (lines 788 fol.): A bearded, long-gowned man holding a formidable birch in his *left* hand, his wife and four well-grown children, two girls and two boys.

3. Fol. 46 v, below the heading: *Wie ſich die herſchaft gegen geſinde halten ſol . . .* &c. (below line 851): A maſter paying his man-ſervant from a money-bag ſuſpended from his waſt. Behind him ſtands his wife. Behind the ſervant, who ſtands with raiſed hat and his knee reſpectfully bent, ſtands a maid. The coſtume is that of the firſt half of the fifteenth century.

The MS. is the work of two ſcribes, both of whom wrote in Gothic minuſcules with the uſual looped cuſſive forms, but ſhow a number of well-marked individual peculiarities.

The firſt, who was by far the better penman, ſhaped each letter carefully and with the angularity and lateral compression claimed by Chrouſt as characteristic of official documents. This is moſt noticeable in the *m* and *n*. He always dotted the *i* and was careful to diſtinguiſh between the ſimple, the modified, and the diphthongial *o* and *u* ſounds; writing *o*, *u* for M.H.G. *o*, *u*; *ü* with one dot for M.H.G. *ü*, *iu*, and for the dialectical *ü* = *i*; *o* with *e* above for *ö* and *æ*; *u* with *o* above for *uo*, and *u* with *e* above for *üe*. He has written *w* for *v*, *f* in *waste* 792, *wihe* 772, *wil* 98, *wint* 419, *wirnehmen* 4, *wollebringen* 877, *wor* 67, 774, 893, *worwenden* 885, *worder* 860, and *f v* for *w* in *furme* 9, *vem* 113, *antvurtet* 59. (*A. Gr.*,

§ 160, note*, says that $v > w$ occurs in later Al. MSS., and § 163 that $w > v$ occurs 'in ältester Zeit und später'. Cf. H., § 42 c.) This scribe is responsible for most of the examples of $d = Gmc. d$ and did not double t after long vowels (see Orthography and Dialect of MS.). He used *-cht* beside *-ht*, and always wrote *ou*, never *au*.

The second scribe allowed his letters, especially the top of the *s*, to straggle, though not to excess. He sometimes dotted the *i* and sometimes did not do so, but without regard to the neighbouring letters. He was inclined to place two dots on every *o* and *u* irrespective of its value and sometimes wrote *u* with *o* above it for *uo*. His other noticeable peculiarity was to write *z* in *das*, *waz*, *des*, where the first scribe always used *s*. He always wrote *-cht* and *au*, and from him came all the examples of *tt* after a long vowel (see Orthography).

Meister Albertus Lere is written on fols. 36 v-48 v. The share of each scribe and the missing lines are shown in the following table:

	1st Scribe.	2nd Scribe.	Missing.
1.	36 v-40 v: 1-248	...	...
2.	...	...	249-362
3.	...	41 r: 363-99	...
4.	41 v: 400-33	...	...
5.	...	...	434-80
6.	...	42 r-v: 481-554	...
7.	...	...	555-609
8.	...	43 r-44 v: 610-753	...
9.	45 r-48 v: 754-end	...	...

It is to be noted that we are not dealing with fragments of two MSS. bound together, for each scribe has filled up one side of fol. 41. In this case the first took the pen from his colleague in the middle of a sentence.

Orthography: The doubling of *f* and *t* is fairly common. *t* has been doubled by the second scribe after a long vowel in

five cases: *zitten, hütten, gutler, berattet, mutter*. The same scribe has also doubled the *d* in *widder* twice (cf. Haendcke, § 43 b), and once inserted *e* as a mark of vowel-length in *kieffeln*. The first scribe has *gk* for *c* three times in *ewigklich*. Both write *ck* for *k* after consonants and double the *e* in *e*, *ge*, *me*. The form *ij* occurs in both: *zijt* five times, *bij* seven times, *sij* twelve times, and *drij* once.

Dialect: Both scribes wrote in the Alsatian dialect. *o* for M.H.G. *â* is common. *ö* for M.H.G. *e* occurs six times in *mönschen*. *u* for M.H.G. *i*: *wurt* three times, *suben* three times, *vermuschet vermuschunge grumme* once each. *o* for *u*: *dorch*, *togende* once each. *ö* for *u*: *könment, mögent*. Specially Alsatian are *u* with *e* above it for M.H.G. *û* and *iü*: *huese* and *muese* 367. M.H.G. *t* is written *d* initially in the following cases only: *dun dut* eleven times, *dor dorheit* seven times, *det, dette, dier, druncken, drincken* once each; medially *d* is used after *n* only, and finally only in *und*. Specially Alsatian are: *w* for *j* in *fruwe* 406, *tuwe* 502; *g* for *j* in *früge* 431, *ginre* 170, 821; *g* for *c* in *werg* 518 and for *h* in *fettigen* 23.

B

B is MS. germ. fol. 742 of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Some leaves are wanting at the beginning of the MS., including those which bore the table of contents. There remain 154 numbered consecutively. The MS. is written throughout by one scribe in neat Gothic minuscules of the middle of the fifteenth century with the usual cursive elements. The second downstroke of the *a* is sometimes separated from the loop, the *i* is frequently dotted before and after *m* and *n* and sometimes in other positions, the cross-stroke of the *t* and in many cases the tail of the *r* are ornamented with vertical hair-lines, and the shafts of *k* and *l* are occasionally loopless.

There are in this MS. also a large number of pen-drawings which have been filled in with colours. Those illustrating our poem are:

- I. Fol. 20 r: A master instructing a young man. Both have

long curly hair. Their costume recalls the passages quoted by Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im XIV. und XV. Jrhdt.*, p. 225: '1452. In desselben jar huben sich an die *langen Schnebel an den schuhen*, die hoffart kom von Swaben,' and: '1452. Dis jar hub man an (in Strassburg) lange Schnebel an die schuch zu machen, auch kurze klein menteln und kleine guggelhut die bande man mit nesteln zusammen, auch *kurze wammes und lange hosen*.'

Here the *lange Schnebel* are merely penstrokes prolonging the toes of the young man's shoes, but the *kurze wammes* and *lange hosen* are very different from the long tunics shown in the corresponding illustration of D.

2. Fol. 26 v, at the beginning of the second part of the poem: A bearded man, with a large hooked nose, giving advice to a young man, who stands before him hat in hand. The old man wears a fur-trimmed robe reaching almost to his ankles. The youth's tunic is long enough to cover his knees.

3. Fol. 76 v, at the beginning of the section dealing with marriage: The Lord, tall, bare-headed, bare-footed, bearded and long-haired, with a halo above His head, is joining the hands of a man and a woman. The woman is bare-headed and appears to be wearing a hair-net. Her dress is long and flowing, but tight-sleeved. The man's curly hair reaches below his shoulders and his tunic comes half-way to the knee.

4. Fol. 81 r: God, with a halo above His head and half-hidden in a cloud, is listening to Adam and Eve, who are kneeling on the grass praying with folded hands. Adam is looking upwards. Eve, who is behind him, is staring at something on her right. Both are nude. The title of the picture is 'Wie Adam und Eva got ane botent Vmb libes erben, &c.' This title has been incorporated in the text of P.

5. Fol. 86 v (below line 787): A king and queen wearing their crowns. The king has a short fur-trimmed tunic and is lecturing four disproportionately small children.

6. Fol. 88 v, above line 853, at the beginning of the section dealing with the management of servants: Another king, crowned, and wearing a long robe trimmed with fur at the neck and bottom and along the edge of the long flowing sleeves. Before him stands a man-servant, or perhaps a page, holding a feathery hat in his right hand, and what appears to

be a musical instrument ſhaped like a mandoline in his left. Behind the man ſtands a woman. She is the taller of the two and cloſely reſembles the bride in the third picture.

As far as we can tell, from its mutilated condition, this MS. contained the ſame poems as P and D, but in a different order. The firſt two parts of *Meiſter Albertus Lere* are on fols. 20 r-30 v and the remainder on fols. 77 v-91 v.

Orthography: In this MS. the doubling is ſtill more ſtrongly developed than it is in D, although it does not go to the abſurd lengths noted in the MS. Q of *Lere und Underweyſung*. In *ffragen* 265, *ffalſch* 775, *ffuget* 870, *ffroide* 909, the doubling replaces the customary capital at the beginning of the line. The doubling of *d* occurs in *reddeſt*, *reddeſſen*, *gereddeſſen*, *redde*, five times in all. After conſonants *k* appears as *ck*, and *gk* occurs once in *magk*. *β* occurs occaſionally for *s* and *z*. *e* is commonly doubled in the monosyllables *e*, *ge*, *me*, *we*. The ſcribe invariably wrote *-cht* and *ou*. Umlaut is fully carried out: *ä* and *æ* are written *e*, but *ä* occurs once: *beträchtlich* 292; *ö* and *œ* are written *ö*; *ü*, *iu*, *uo*, *üe* are all repreſented by *ü*, but *uo* is ſometimes written *u* with *o* above it. *ij* occurs in *drij* once and in *ziſt* twenty-two times. The abbreviation *dz* for *das* occurs three times.

Dialect: The dialectical peculiarities of this MS. cloſely reſemble thoſe preſent in D, of which it is, as we ſhall ſee later, a cloſe copy in other reſpects alſo. *o* for *â* is very common indeed. *u* and *ü* for M.H.G. *i* occur ſix times in all. *ö* is always uſed in *können*, *mögen*, *möge*, *möglich*. *ouw* and *ow* for *iu* occur in *ſchouwen* 406 and *rowen* 782. Initial *d* = M.H.G. *t* is leſs common in this MS. than in D. It does not occur medially except after *n* and occurs only in *und* finally. *ch* is uſual for *h* before *s* as well as before *t*, and occurs alſo in *vochen* 19, *siche* 158, *ſlachen* 804. It has been dropped in *ſlett* 22, 476, as well as in *bevale* 567. The following ſpellings ſhow the ſpirant nature of the ſcribe's *g*: *verjagen* 834, *ſlagen* 836 (the latter is, however, probably an analogical formation), *erzeichen* 898. *g* repreſents *j* in *tüge* three times, *früge* three times, *sige* *ſigeſt* *ſigent* three times.

Apocope and Syncope: The scribe was inclined to drop the *e*: *heimlich, allzeit, sprech, betracht, verhor* (pres. subj. 224), *gern, hertz, &c.* Occasionally *e* has been added, as in *sine* (Inf. : *wine* dat. s.) 668, *bevale* (pret. sing.) 567, *siche* 158.

Peculiar forms: The Infinitive has been inflected in *zu sagende* 632. The dat. sg. *eim, eine=ime* occurs in lines 503, 702, 705, 776 ('Mitteldeutsche Nebenformen,' *Mhd. Gr.*, § 476, p. 519), and dat. pl. *inen* in lines 346, 374, 790, 791 ('in alem volkstümlichen Schriften des 13. Jh. schon beliebt', *Mhd. Gr.*, § 479, 525; *A. Gr.*, § 416).

The relationship and value of the Manuscripts

The rhymes prove that the poet wrote a Rhenish Franconian-Hessian dialect. As we have seen that the MSS. were not produced in a district where this dialect was spoken, it is clear that they do not present the text in its original form (O).

Further, the presence of a number of errors common to all four MSS. proves that they are ultimately derived from the same faulty archetype (X). These errors are: 200 *Der antwurt lutzel unde vil* (this is meaningless, and the Latin original . . . *si gesseris optima et locutus fueris pauca*, or, as the shorter version has it: *Audias ergo plurima, responde ad pauca*, proves that *hore* is required before *vil*); 403 *We und leit daz lant an gat, Das ein kint zu konige wart*, where both grammar and sense demand *hat* in place of *wart*; a line is missing after 777, and 939 *elichen* should be *erlichen*.

We shall see later that there were more errors in the archetype, but we must first determine the relative positions of the individual MSS.

It is at once apparent that PDB, which, as we have already seen, also contain the same collection of poems, frequently agree against S, e.g.: 5 *sage* wanting *kint min* PDB *min kint* S, 12 *gezemen* wanting S, 61 *mochte* PDB *moge* S, 63 *mercke* wanting S, 112 *rechenunge umb geben* PDB *umb rechenunge geben* S, 116 *vint* wanting PDB, 128 *unwissen* PDB

unlosen S, 147 *vierden* PDB *dritten* S, 166 *schamper* PDB *schadeber* S, 192 *kallent* PDB *redent* S, 205 *mag* PDB *kan* S, 210 *Den habe ich fur einen wisen man* PDB *Der heiet wol ein wise man* S, 211 *witze* wanting S, 221 *wort* PDB *noldurft* S, 240 *werken* PDB *worten* S, 490 *unvernunftig* PDB *vernunftig* S, 651-4 wanting PDB corrupt S, 758 wanting PD a bad conjecture B, 772 *andern* PDB *unverstanden* S, 791 *man mit in soll* PDB *man soll mit in* S, 817 *sin* wanting PDB, below 851 a heading PDB which is missing S, 882 *froiden* PDB *frieden* S, 884 *haben* PDB *halten* S, 901 *enden* PDB *dingen* S, 913 *alle diener* PDB *diener alle* S, 916 *zieren* PDB *zeren* S, 938-9 *Man sol gut gewinnen und besitzen Und mit rechten elichen witzen* PDB . . . *besitzen unde gewinnen Mit recht und mit elichen dingen* S.

These readings cannot be accounted for by assuming that S is a bad (or improved) copy of one of the other MSS., not only because it is the oldest of the four, but because it is free from the interpolations and lacunae which are present in the others. PDB therefore form a separate group descended from a common archetype (Y), the nature of which we have now to establish.

In spite of a few omissions (e.g. 12, 211) and errors (e.g. 147, 490) S is a more accurate MS. than Y could have been. This is most obvious in line 758 which was wanting in Y, lines 5, 63, 116 where a word was missing, line 240 where the Latin original enables us to test the reading, lines 772, 853, 882 where the sense proves that S is correct, and line 916 where Y had altered an unfamiliar word against the rhyme. The errors introduced by S are few, and one of them can be explained on palaeographical grounds.¹ As this consistent superiority cannot be attributed to the skill of a corrector, S cannot be descended from Y, but the possibility remains

¹ 490 S *vernunftig* for *unvernunftig* suggests an original *uununftig* with the usual abbreviations for *u* and *er*, which the scribe of S misread, and it must be remembered that *u* and *n* in the Gothic script are often very much alike.

that the opposite is the case, namely that Y is descended from S.

This also appears improbable. It is true that the few instances in which Y, as represented by PDB, had clearly preserved the true reading would have been simple emendations of the errors in S, but the errors noted in the previous paragraph as attributable to Y are just as obvious and more numerous than these. Hence it appears more probable that these few correct readings were taken over from X than that they were emendations of errors in S.

Now PDB do not always agree against S. In addition to the errors peculiar to each MS., three classes of variants are easily recognizable :

- (a) where BD agree against PS,
- (b) where BP agree against DS, and
- (c) a few cases in which BS agree against DP.

The most important of each class are :

(a) 4 *vil* inserted BD, 8 *sorgen* against rhyme and sense BD, *swigent* the rest of the line is corrupt P, *swigen* S, 14 *Vff* inserted BD, 24 *genant* BD *gemant* PS, 66 *Do sy zu* BD *sy da zu* PS, 82 *man* BD *kunig* PS, 84 *haben* and 100 *keime* inserted PS, 105 *straffe* and 114 *es sy* wanting BD, 127 *gesprochen* BD *gesprechens* P *gespreches* S, 193 *ere* BD *ore* PS, 219 *furgon* BD *vorgang han* PS, 382 *wissest* BD *wis* PS, 408 *gewinnen* BD *beginnen* PS, 409 *unreine* BD *unmere* PS, 492 *leben* BD *wesen* PS, 839 *wil got han* BD *got wil liep han* PS, 867 *girig* BD *grimig* PS, 945 *gewalthafftig* BD *gewaltig* PS, 950 *willen* BD *wiben* PS, 960 *gediene got* BD *got gediene* PS.

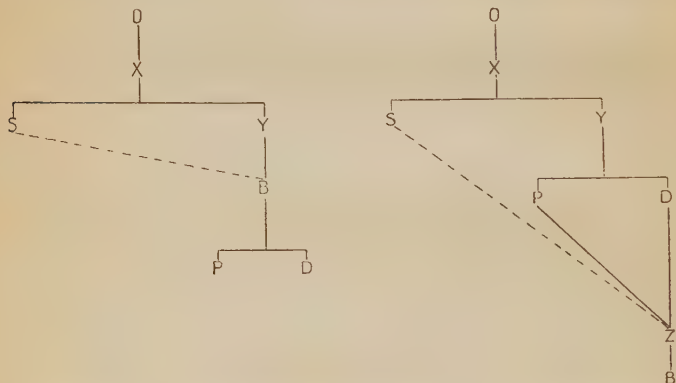
(b) 121 *dingen* BP *dinen* DS, 490 *alle* wanting BP, 493 *der ander* inserted BP, 541 *heilgen* BP *heiligsten* DS, 660 *mit truwen* wanting BP, 672 *das ander* BP *des andern* DS, 692 *wol* wanting BP, 693 *mensch* BP *man* DS, 697 *die* BP *sie* DS, 757, 869 *nut* wanting BP.

(c) 1 *hieB* BS *heisset* DP, 119 *verswigen* BS *swigen* DP, 234 *es . . . hore* BS *su horent* DP, 407 *guten* inserted and

488 *ander* wanting DP, 658 *messeclichen* B *messeclicher* S *mönschlicher* D *menschlich* P.

Of these last, 119 may be due to pure chance. Assuming that DP represent Y, B may well have altered 1 *heisset* to *hiesz* by analogy with 2 *sprach* and omitted 407 *guten* either accidentally or because it is not required by the sense. The other cases cannot be accidental and prove that B must have been subject to secondary influences which did not affect Y. The singular *es* in B 234 is the more remarkable as it refers in B, as in DP but not in S, to the plural *dine oren* in the line above.

As D sometimes agrees with S against P, and on the other hand P sometimes agrees with S against D, it is clear that P



is not derived from D, nor vice versa, but that they are independently derived from Y, which in these places agreed with X and S, or, of course, from intermediate MSS.

It is also clear that B represents a class of MSS. in which the readings of D and P, and to a much smaller extent of S also, have been combined. Such a MS. could not form a link between DP and Y or S (see Fig. 1), for we should then be unable to account for the existence of the variants in which BP agree against DS, and those in which BD agree against PS.

These variants must have been introduced by P and D respectively, and taken over by B, either directly or through intermediate MSS. of these types.

In the same way, the few readings in which BS agree against DP must have come to B from a MS. of the type S and not through Y.

Up to this point we have considered only the readings in which B agrees with D or P against two other MSS. If we now examine the cases in which it agrees with D against P and those in which it agrees with P against D, we find that it follows D in about three cases out of five. Once this MS. appears to combine the readings of D and P in the same line, viz.:

54 S: So mag er leben und gude zit finden.

P: So mag er leben *und* gût zit vinden.

D: So mag ir *lop* ein gute zit finden.

B: So mag er *lop und* gut zit finden.

There is no conclusive evidence as to the way in which the variants of P, D, and S were brought together in B. The number of readings taken over from S is so small that it is highly improbable that B was directly influenced by this MS., and it is difficult to see why just these readings should have been chosen. It appears more probable that they were inserted as corrections in a MS. of the type P or D. On the other hand the combining of the readings of P and D must have been due to mechanical copying from the two MSS. of these types; for no one would deliberately change D 121 *dinen* to *dingen*, 693 *man* to *mensche*, and insert *ander* in line 493, or alter P 24 *gemant* to *genant*, 127 *gesprechens* to *gesprochen*, and 846 *helfen* to *hoffen*. There the problem remains, but from errors in B it is fairly certain that there was an intermediate MS. (Z). Thus, the omission of 180-1 left 179 *haben* without a rhyme; to remedy this 182 *reden* was altered to *sagen*. This suggests that the lacuna was present in the copy from which B was derived. Again, 96 *wuste*,

where DS have *verreste*, suggests an original *vste*,¹ without the usual abbreviation for *-er*. As we have seen that B agrees most closely with D, we can infer that this MS. Z was based on D, but influenced by P, and, to a much smaller extent, by S.

The relationship of the MSS. may now be summed up as follows :

All four MSS. are descended from the same faulty archetype X, from which were derived on the one hand S and on the other hand Y. From Y are descended, directly or indirectly, P and D. B was derived from a MS. Z in which the readings of P and D, and to a much smaller extent of S also, had somehow been combined. (See Fig. 2.)

The value of the MSS.

B, having been derived from the other three MSS., has little critical value and its text is in a bad condition owing to wilful alterations.

Lines 79, 180-1, 201, 372, 684, 752 (in addition to those wanting in Y) have been omitted and interpolations have been introduced in the text in lines 205-7, 368-9, 486, 511-12. The scribe altered many words either to simplify or, as he thought, to improve the text, e. g. : 186 *lefsen* to *lesen*, 528 *lip* to *sie*, 530 *zu ime* to *zammen*, 629 *alterseine* to *allein*, 636 *trieben* to *blieben*, 740 *gespontzen* to *spontieren*; or for no apparent reason, as in 31 *oder* to *ander*, 134 *fluoch* to *fluck sint*, 514 *redeliche* to *weideliche*, 515 *tugentliche* to *eygentliche*, 518 *werk* to *ding*, 524 *slafen* to *lachen*, 624 *lobe* to *liebe*, 659 *vereinen* to *vernemen*, 929 *zeren* to *eren*, 952 *lust* to *lop*. He has perpetrated some bad conjectures: 91 *sollent* for *stillent* P *fellet* D, 750 *unvernunftig* for *unfertig* PD *unertig* S, 758 where Y had a lacuna. We have already noted 96 *wuste* and we may add 380 *finden* for *welen* DS *folgen* P.

Of the readings peculiar to D and those which it has in

¹ Or *wste* with *w* for *v*, which is common in the part of MS. D written by the first scribe.

common with B and for which its scribes must be held responsible, some, e.g.: BD 8, 14, 24, 82, 127, 193, 382, 408, 409, 839, 950, and D 202, are palpable errors. Two lines (in addition to those noted as wanting in Y) have been omitted, the order of the words has been changed in a few cases, e.g.: 56, 66, 499, 768, words have been altered to improve the sense or to strengthen the expression in lines 187, 827, 881, 967, and under the influence of words in other lines, as in 28, 30, 80, 971. Such errors are easily recognized and therefore not dangerous, but with P the case is different. In this MS., beside a number of obvious mistakes, e.g. 121, 493, 611, 660, 693, which are present in B also, and 130, 739, 860, which occur in P alone, there are a number of skilful emendations. Particularly attractive are: 150 *So lere* for *zu lern* S *Zu lerne* DB, 232, 239 *dich auch* omitted against SDB, and 877 *nutz*, which is wanting in the other three MSS. In the last two cases the reading of P has been adopted in the text. 96 *ver-torschet* for *verreste* SD, and 368 *missetat* for *muse dot* SDB, are ingenious but unfortunate conjectures.

When PD agree they present the reading of Y, the value of which has already been discussed. To the errors introduced at this stage we can now add: 407 *gûten* inserted, 488 *ander* wanting, and 750 *unfertig* (S *unertig*, B *unvernunftig*). As DP contain the same poems in the same order this must have been the contents of Y. Further, below line 574, P, which has no illustrations, has the title of one which has been preserved in B. Unfortunately the corresponding leaf of D is missing, but we may safely assume that Y was an illustrated MS.

When either P or D agrees with S we have the reading of X. To the errors noted above as present in this MS. we must therefore add: 84 *haben* inserted, 239 *dich auch* inserted, 737 *sache* inserted, 877 *nutz* wanting. For line 162 see notes to text. From forms preserved by the careful, even mechanical, scribe of S we know that X was written in a Rhenish Franconian-Hessian dialect.

Lastly, S is the most important MS. because it is the oldest, because it is a degree more closely related to the original than PD are, and because the dialect of the scribe was the most nearly related to that of the poet. In spite of a number of omissions and one or two bad mistakes (147 *dritten* for *vierden*, 490 *vernunftig* for *unvernunftig*) it is much more accurate than the other MSS. individually or collectively. Hence, in doubtful cases, unless rhyme, grammar, or sense prove it to be wrong, the reading of S is to be preferred.

Critical Principles

As the dialect of the poet as shown in the rhymes is fairly well represented by the chief manuscript, the orthography of the latter has been followed as far as possible. *o* < *u* in *son*, *mogen*, &c., *au* for *ou*, *cht* for *ht*, *cl* for *kl*, and *u* < *uo* *üe* *iu* have been retained throughout. On the other hand sporadic M.G. forms such as *e* < *i* in *wider*, &c., have been set aside. Umlaut of *o* and *ô* and of *u* and *û* has not been marked. The use of *s* and *z*, *i* and *y*, final *c* and *g* and final *p* and *b*, has been normalized. Gmc. *d* has been uniformly written *d* initially and medially after *n* and between vowels, but *t* in other positions.

The critical apparatus contains all various readings except orthographical differences which have been treated under the Dialect of the MSS.

§ 7. The Language the of Poet

Of the 485 rhyming couplets of *Meister Albertus Lere*, 307 yield pure rhymes, 71 contain consonantal assonances, and 15 are rhymes between a long and a short vowel. The remainder enable us to fix the poet's dialect with some degree of certainty, but before examining them in detail it will be well to indicate broadly the conclusion which they enable us to draw. The rhyming of old *ë* to umlauts *-e* (the latter umlaut *ä* does not occur in the rhyme) before liquids and nasals points at once to a Middle German origin, which is

limited by the rhyme of M.H.G. *d* to M.H.G. *t* = Gmc. *d* to Middle and Rhenish Franconia. The former is excluded by the final tenuis *g* which we have to infer from the assonances *g* : *t*. Further, the poet allows himself assonances between different consonants of the same series only, so the rhymes *daz* : *baz* 23 : *laz* 203 : *gehaaz* 761, together with the absence of assonances between *daz*, *waz*, and *hat*, &c., prove that the poet did not use the M. Fr. forms *it*, *dat*, &c., with unshifted *t*. There can be no question of unshifted *t* in *baz*, &c., owing to the rhyme *uz* : *hus* 810. Lastly, the loss of *r* in the combination *-rcht* is a definitely Hessian characteristic.

We shall now examine first the dialectically pure rhymes and then the assonances :

A. RHYMES. I. *Vocalic*.

Old *e* : Umlauts *-e* before liquids and nasals (Franconian and Alemannic, vid. *Z.f.d.A.* 44, 252) : 115, 227, 822. *e* : *ê* (Middle German, *Z.f.d.A.* 44, 285) : 575, 577, 733, 880, 940. *ê* : *ae* 1. Before *r* (vid. *Z.f.d.A.* 44, 281 : 'Die auf weiten Gebieten der ost- und rheinfränkischen Mundarten geltende Beeinflussung der *-e*-laute durch das folgende *-r* des Stammes, wodurch *ê*, *æ*, *e*, *ë* in einen einzigen offenen Laut zusammengefallen sind, . . . fällt vielfach erst nach der Dehnung der Kurzen, also nach der mhd. Periode') : 135, 151, 581, 753, 932. These rhymes are one of the signs of the late date of the poem, but they occur in Herbolt's *Lied von Troja* also. 2. Before *n* 846 (*Z.f.d.A.* 44, 291). *e* : *i* 201, 900. *-eit* < *-eget* : *-eit geleit* : *warheit* 66 : *cristenheit* 551, *vertreit* (3rd sing.) : *bescheidenheit* 471. *-eit* < *aget* : *-eit seit* (3rd sing.) : *uppikeit* 75, *geseit* (Past Part.) : *wisheit* 259, 275. Thus the poet belonged to Hermann Fischer's third (Alemannic and Franconian) group, Nos. 48-98, which rhymes only *seit* : old *-eit* in addition to *treit* and *leit* (cp. *Z.f.d.A.* 44, 345 ff.).¹ The suffix *-lich* rhymes with a short *i* both in the adjective and in the adverb :

¹ Hermann Fischer, *Zur Geschichte des Mhd.*, Tübinger Universitätsprogramm.

-lich : *dich* 41, 85, 97, 107, 153, 175, 187, 221, 239, -lich : *sich* 353, 451, 501, 771, including two examples of *glich* : *sich*. It is therefore clear that the poet rhymed -lich short according to Rh. Franconian-Hessian practice (cf. *Z.f.d.A.* 45, 89 f. and 90, Wolter, *op. cit.*, p. 9). In *ewiglich* : *himelrich* we have the Rh. Fr. shortening of *rich* (*Z.f.d.A.* 45, 83, and Wolter, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*). There are further examples in the Hessian *Spiegelbuch* (ed. Rieger, *Germania*, xvi, 158 ff.): *rich* : *dich* 151 : *mich* 290. *i* : *î* does not occur. *i* : *ie* (*ie* when monophthongized in Middle German rhymed to *i*, but old *î* did not rhyme to *i*, cf. *Z.f.d.A.* 44, 402) *nit* : *liep* 926 and with the regular M.G. shortening before two consonants in *fint* : *dinc* 121. *î* : *î* < *ige hochzit* : *lit* 483 (*Z.f.d.A.* 44, 401). *o* : *o* < *u* 263, 751, 593, 701, 759, 657, 864. *Davon* : *dun* 952 is probably an impure rhyme. *Ton* occurs in a Worms charter of 1343 (Boos, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms*, vol. ii, No. 326), but this document has other peculiar spellings, which betray M. Fr. influence. *u* : *iu* after the regular Middle German monophthongization and shortening (*Z.f.d.A.*, 45, 69 n.) *kunt* : *frunt* 118. Umlaut: The termination -ære for the *nomina agentium* has the full form at the end of the line, but is frequently shortened to -er within it : 135, 151, 410, 968. *ö* does not occur in the rhyme, but *æ* rhymes with *ô* in *hore* : *ore* 35, 131, 192, 233 (cf. Wolter, *op. cit.*, p. 13). *ü* : Umlaut is carried out in *witze* : *nütze* 245 and *zügen* : *begnügen* 928. Umlaut has been resisted before nasal + consonant in 189, 245, 545, 609. Umlaut of *ü* does not occur in the rhyme, but *iu* diphthong rhymes with *üe* in *luden* : *huden* 127 beside *besluz* : *uz* 217; the latter is probably an impure rhyme. *öu* : *erzeiget* : *geneiget* 393, *erzeigen* : *eigen* 898, may be cases of unrounding of *öu* to *ei* (cf. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, § 234. 1; Wolter, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 57) or of *zeigen* from O.H.G. *zeigôn*.

2. Consonantal.

The rhyming of medial intervocalic M.H.G. *t* : M.H.G. *d* in *ziden* : *niden* 421 : *liden* 625, *stede* : *rede* 675, together with

the assonances *ziden* : *swigen* 7, 17, 47, 205 : *triben* 641 and the absence of assonances between medial *t* and *pp* and *ck*, prove that the poet's *d* was unshifted. The large excess of *d* over *t* in the Spires MS. is not without significance in this connexion. Final *z* from Gmc. *t* and *s* had fallen together: *hus* : *uz* 810.

Neither unshifted *p* nor *f* < Gmc. *p* occur in 'beweisendem Reime', but from the assonances *zit* : *wip* 571 : *lip* 755, *nit* : *liep* 926, it is clear that final M.H.G. *p* corresponding to medial M.H.G. *b* < Gmc. *b* was a tenuis and not a spirant. This excludes Middle Franconia (Paul, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 92).

laret : *gefahet* 413 points to the Middle German spirant *g*, which became *h* and then disappeared before *st* in *mast* : *vast* 174, 326 : *hast* 346 (*mast* < *magest*, an analogical formation from *maht mag mogen*). Final *g* does not rhyme with *ch*, but occurs in assonance with *t* in *hat* : *mac* 629, 920 : *mâc* 171, *wit* : *swic* 191, *stat* : *lac* 539. We must therefore conclude that it was a tenuis. Final *h* and *ch* had fallen together: *sprach* : *geschah* 60.

The loss of *r* before *-cht* in *fochten* : *zuchten* 657, 864 is a specially Hessian characteristic. (Wolter, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-5: 'Dieser Abfall des *-r* ist eine speziell für die hessischen Mundarten charakteristische Erscheinung die in Oberhessen, der Wetterau und in Süd-Nassau (Rhein Hessen) häufig ist, in Speier aber schon aufhört.')

B. ASSONANCES. I. *Vocalic*.

a : *â* before *n* in monosyllables 39, 693, 902, 169, 699, 663, 673. *Hân* rhymes long or short (cf. *Z.f.d.A.*, 44, 363, Anm. 2). In dissyllables: 255, 369, 341, 497, 836; *beschaffen* : *slafen* 523 is a specially striking example and is probably an impure rhyme.

Alemannic and most Rhenish and South Rhenish Franconian poets distinguish carefully between *a* and *â*, but some Franconian poets do not do so, especially before *n*, *ch*, and *ht* (*Z.f.d.A.*, 44, 12). There are a few examples in Herbolt's

Lied von Troja, Eraclius, Erlösung, Elisabeth, and St. Galler Spiel vom Leben Jesu (ed. Wolter, p. 3). Owing to the late date of our poem and the presence in it of feminine lines of four beats these rhymes are a sign of the lengthening of short vowels in open syllables.

o : *ô* in monosyllables before *t* 149, 367, 629. *ore* : *vore* 223 is probably to be taken as monosyllabic also.

2. *Consonantal*. Medially : *b* : *g* after *a* and *â* (one of the rhyming words is always a form of *haben*) 55, 179, 437, 792 ; 511, 765, 882 ; 918 ; 691 ; 341 ; 25 ; 231 ; 946 ; 709. After *i* 139, 197, 635. *b* : *d* (*d* = M.H.G. *d* or *t*) 497 ; 181 ; 641, 828 ; 613. *d* : *g* 205 ; 7, 17, 47, 205. *rb* : *rd* 832, 906. *ff* : *ch* 229. *l* : *r* 393, 725 ; 49. *nd*, *ng* : *nn* 54, 67, 317, 351, 671, 814, 900 ; 295 ; 952 ; 429, 794, 824, 840, 935. *mb* : *nd* 57, 609. *m* : *n* 751. Finally, *p* : *c* *tac* : *bap* 689. *t* : *c* 171, 191, 539, 627, 920. *t* : *p* 571, 755, 926. *rt* : *rk* 601. *nt* : *nc* 121 ; 301 ; 165, 257, 279, 361, 619, 631, 647, 894 ; 397, 711.

Apocope and Syncope.

Apocope of *-e* is common in the rhyme, but the only certain instances occur in the dative singular and in the adverb, e. g. Dative Singular : *zorn* : *geborn* 31 : *verlorn* 299, *mut* : *dut* 465, *got* (nom. s.) : *dot* 630, *win* : *sin* (Infinitive) 667, *list* : *ist* 360, &c. Adverbs : *schon* : *Salomon* 81, 207, 806 : *lon* (acc. s.) 873 beside *schone* : *lone* (Subjunctive) 904, *spat* : *rat* 251, 406, 431, *vast* : *mast* 173, &c., but *gerne* : *gelerne* 226, *verspottene* : *sere* 135, *snelle* : *geselle* 115. In the rhyme the termination *-lich* is always short and without *-e*, but within the line the metre usually requires *-liche*.

Within the line the metre often demands apocope of *-e* in the acc. sing. fem. of adjectives and pronominal adjectives (in the nominative the uninflected form would, of course, be regular), and sometimes in the genitive plural and the 2nd singular Imperative of weak verbs, but as the poet admitted feet with two unaccented syllables we cannot lay down a hard and fast rule as to his practice in this respect.

Syncope of *-e-* before *-n* appears in *zorn* : *geborn* 32 : *verlorn* 300, and perhaps, accompanied by assimilation of the *-n*, in *han* : *an* 20, for it is improbable that a strong form *hane* (with apocope of *-e*) would have occurred at so early a date on Middle German ground (vid. Molz, *P.B.B.*, 27. 238). As feminine lines of four beats occur, it is probable that syncope did not take place in *weren* : *êren* 880 (cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 167 a. 1.), but before *t*, as in 473, 581, 733, 757, 794, 812, 814, syncope is the more probable alternative (vid. Paul, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 155).

Conclusion.

The loss of *r* in *voht voliten* enables us to localize the home of the poet in Oberhessen, Süd-Nassau, or the Wetterau. Against the first-named is the absence in the poem of unshifted *t* in *diz* and of *fv* for M.H.G. medial *b*. We cannot decide definitely in favour of either of the other two districts as the only piece of positive evidence, namely the use of *ei* for *öu* in *freide* in the Spires MS. occurs in both. It is, however, more common in documents written in the Wetterau than in those of Süd-Nassau.

ACCIDENCE

The Substantives. The rhymes throw very little light on the declension of the substantives. For *han* dat. sg. 20 see above under Apocope and Syncope. The neuter plural appears with and without *e*. *Ore* rhymes with *hore* both in the dative and in the accusative singular (vid. Molz, *P.B.B.*, 31, 375).

Adjectives and Adverbs. In the termination *-bâr* the *-e* is dropped. The form *-lich*, with short *i*, is universal in the rhyme, but the form *-liche* is almost always required by the metre.

Verbs. The 3rd pl. pres. Indic. does not rhyme with forms without *-t*. Levelling of the 2nd plural by analogy with the 3rd occurs only in *sint* : *kint* 533. *han* rhymes with long or short *a* (cf. also the assonances of *a* : *â*, *-ab-* : *-ag-*, &c.):

han : *an* 219, 331, 553, 838, 964 : *kan* 319, 645 : *man* 137, 731 : *ergân* 308 : *lân* 782 ; *hast* : *mast* 345 ; *hat* : *mag* 627, 920 : *stat* 56 : *mâg* 171 : *rât* 272, 365, 397 : *gât* 403 : *lât* 970 ; *hant* : *bekant* 373, 651. (Z.f.d.A., 44. 363, n. 2: the short forms of *han* are common in Al. and Fr. dialects.)

gân, *stan*, *lan*: The following examples occur in rhyme : *gan*, *ergan* : *an* 39 : *han* 308 ; *stan* : 449, 529, 559 ; *gat* : *rat* 381 : *aht* 403 ; *lat* : *hat* 970 : *stat* : 775, 962. *ge* : *me* 265 ; *e* 315 : *erste* 505 ; *erste* : *me* 495.

Thus in the Infin. and Indic. Pres. *gân* and *lât* rhyme with *â* and with *stân*, *stât* ; in the Subjunctive only the *ê* forms of *gân* *stân* rhyme.

Uncontracted forms of lâzen:

lâzen : *mâzen* 869, *liez* : *hiez* 557.

The *o* forms of *sollen* *wollen* are always used :

wol : *sol* (1st sing.) 13 : (3rd sing.) 684, &c., *solt* : *holt* 164, *sollent* : *wollent* 461.

mahst : *vast* 174 : *hast* 346 (*mahst* from *magest*, an analogical formation).

§ 8. The Date of the Poem

As the poem shows the influence of Bruder Peregrinus, who according to Cruel, *op. cit.*, preached at the close of the thirteenth century, it cannot have been written earlier than 1300. The language confirms this, for the loss of *r* in *voht* *vohten* does not occur before this date and does not become common until thirty years later. The date of the oldest MS., 1419, furnishes the *terminus ante quem*. The poem, therefore, was probably composed about the middle of the fourteenth century.

PART III. TEXTS

LERE UND UNDERWEISUNG

GUT NUETZLICH LERE UND UNDERWEISUNG
IN TEUTSCH BESCHRIESEN AUSZ DEN PARABOLEN
UND BEYSPRUECHEN SALOMONIS AUCH AUSZ
KATHONE/TULIO/UND AUSZ ANDEREN LERERN
UND POETEN GEZOGEN DARINNE AIN JUNGER
MENSCH UNDERRICHT WUERT/WIE ER SICH IN
ERBERKEIT UND GUTEN SYTEN GEGEN GOT UND
DEM MENSCHEN HALTEN SOL/

I

Zu dem ersten

KAP. I. QUID OPTIMUM ET PESSIMUM SIT IN HOMINE, ETC.

Ein junger fraget ainen haidnischen maister, der hieß 1
Seneca, was das pest und auch das bosest und auch das
scherpffest schwert waere an dem menschen. Der ant- 2
wurt und sprach: ' Das ist die zung, wann also erkennt
man den menschen an seiner zungen, als ainen hafen
an dem klang, ob er gancz oder zerprochen sey, also
erklingt er herwider. Also erkenn den menschen an 3
der rede, wann die zung das wort außspricht durch den
mund. Der mund ist ain offenung und ain bott des 4
gemuets und die zung ist ain gaisel des gemuets oder

des syns, wann es ist besser ze stund schweigen denn reden, wann vil von reden wegen verdorben sind, aber von schweigen niemant, wann der ist der aller krenckest mensch an im selber, der sein taugen und gebresten und torheit nit verschweigen mag, und darumb die klaeffikeit kempfft und krieget wider die verschwiegenheit und spricht also :

KAP. 2. LOQUACITAS CONTRA TACITURNITATEM, ETC.

- 1 Der tuot nit unrecht, der vil redet und guot nütze
- 2 ding redt. Aber der selten redt vnd redt unnütze ding vnd verlaßne vnd vergebene red, der ist schuldig ainer missetat.
- 3 Verschwiegenheit antwurt : ' Wer nit wol reden kan,
- 4 Der schweig vnd sey ain biderman.' Was du allain hoerest, das verschweig als du sein nie gehoert habest.
- 5 Schweigen hat mich nye gerawen, aber reden hat mich gerawen, wann sich guot rede zu dem ersten an dem anfang offt erhebt zuo guot und endet sich zuo übel.
- 6 Der ze vil redt, der mag on lüge, on müssige wort und
- 7 on sünd nit gesein. Darumb : die erste tugent und
- 8 weißheit ist maistern sein zungen. Tuo nach dem natürlichen ebenpild des hanen, der schlecht sich drystund mit den flügeln ee das er kraeet.

KAP. 3. AN LOQUELA SEX CONSIDERA

- 1 Also betracht weislichen sechs ding in deinem muot
- 2 ee dz du redest. Zu dem ersten schaez und suoch in
- 3 dir selber wer du seiest an dir selber. Zu dem andern
- 4 mal, gedencke was du reden wilt. Zum dritten, spür
- 5 hintz wem vnd gen wem du reden wilt. Zum vierden,
- 6 betracht die vrsach, warumb du reden wilt. Zum fünfften,
- 7 fürtracht die weis, in welcher maß vnd wie du reden
- 8 wilt. Zum sechsten, spech die zeit zuo reden oder zuo schweigen.

KAP. 15. SCHLUSZ

Nun also habent ain end die raete von der rede. Da 1, 2
 uebe dich inn mit worten, wann uebung überwint natur
 und den list vund aller maister gesezt vnd lere. Davon 3
 ist es ain vnweißheit vnd ist vnzimlichen ainem gelerten
 man, so er sich kumert mit kryeg vnd sich nit uebet in
 tügenden.

II

Zu dem andern

KAP. I. HIE WILL ER ABER FUERBASZ LEREN
 VND SAGEN GAR GUOTE LERE WIE SICH AINS
 HALTEN SOLL.

Also dz du weyßlichen lebest in weltlichen laide, 1
 suoeh trost, das dich trawrikeit nit überwinde, wann
 wer sich selber verzert vnd frißt sein pluot vnd marck,
 der derret seinen gaist vnd verschwindet gar, wann
 trawrikeit vil menschen ertoedt. Vnd doch halt die 2
 maß, biß froelich mit den freunden, vnd hab mitleiden
 mit den betrueten. Wilt du lang iung erscheinen, so 3
 vertreib groß sorg, wann grosse sorge machet alt schei-
 nen. Aber des weisen mannes hercze wonet da erenst 4
 ist; das hercze der toren wonet da schimpff ist vnd
 verlassenheit.

KAP. 30. DE VICTORIA

Wann du deins veinds gewaltig bist, das acht vnd 6
 schaecz für ain rach, wann du dich wol gerechen magst,
 vnd wer sich vnarmhercziglich richt, das selb widerfert
 in auch. Aber wenn der maechtig herr vil vergeben 7
 mag, so er ye maechtiger würt.

III

Zu dem dritten

VON LIEB HABEN DER LERE

KAP. I. INTRODUCTIO

- 1, 2 So hebet sich hie an das buechlin der lere: Wer
 lere lieb hat vnd geren horet oder lißt, der gewynnet
 kunst, vnd wer hasset vnd straffet die lere vnd der wol
 3 lesen kan vnd nit geren lißt, der ist vnweis. Erwel lere
 vnd kunst über gold vnd silber, wann lere ist ain speys
 4 des gemuecz. Es ist ain loblich ding, der etwas kan,
 vnd ist ain schand, der nichts leren wil.

KAP. 35. DE IUDICIO CONTRA MALEFACTORES

- 1 Es ist ze wissen, das der richter das schwert nit on
 2 vrsach hat und tregt. Er tregts durch ainer rache
 der bosen, vnd zuo ainem beschirmen der guoten
 gerechten.
 3 Der richter, der ain gerechtz vrtail will tuon, der sol
 vor in haben syben notdürfftig ding:
 18 Das sibent: Der richter sol kainem groessere pein
 geben, dann er vmb die schuld verdient hat.

SIT LAUS DEO

AMEN

VARIANTS

I. *Title to Zu dem ersten in R only.* Kap. 1, 1-4 *to* von reden wegen *wanting owing to mutilation of the MS.* Q. 4 und die zung *to* gemuets *wanting* R. Kap. 2, 2¹ vergebne wort R. 5 mich offt gerawen R. 7 *After* Darumb: spricht Katho *inserted* R, maistern und zaemen R. Kap. 3, 4 nym war R.

II. Zu dem andern *conjectured, cf. beginning of Part I.*
 Kap. 1 *Heading wanting* KR. 1 Also dz du weißheit habest
 und weißlichen lebest R. *Below 4 there follows in R this*
interpolation: Du magst wol frolich sein und schimpfflich leben
 zu zeiten, doch ze maßen, on schand und on laster wort, do von
 man sich ergeren mag. Das versteen also, du magst wol
 gelächter machen Doch halt dein vernunft gezämpft dz du
 nicht vnkeüsche wort vor iunckfrawen, frawen oder kinden
 außziechest, wann vil üfels davon ersteen mag.

III. Zu dem dritten *added as above.* Von lieb haben d. l. *in*
 K *only.* Kap. 1 *Heading added.* 1 Hie hebet sich an das buch
 der ler K Hie h. s. a. d. b. guter lere und syten R. 2 Wer
 die lieb hat R, *after* die lere: vnd kunst der würt für ain tor
 geschäczt *inserted* R. Kap. 35 *below* 18 R *inserts* Also hastu
 yecz wol verstanden wie du dich in den halten solt. Item drew
 dinck jrent das recht Das ist gach, zorn vnd geytikeit vnd vier
 dinck machen ain falschen richter, dz ist gab, gunst, neyd vnd
 vorcht. Als freydanck spricht wer dz vnrecht zu dem rechten
 spricht der würt von got schwaerlich gericht. The Conclusion:
 Sit laus deo *in K only, Amen in R only.*

DIE KURZE PROSAUEßERSETZUNG VON DE DOCTRINA DICENDI

AIN NUCZE LER

WIE DU DICH HALTEN SOLT MIT DEINEM REDEN
 UND SCHWEIGEN GEN GOT UND DEN MENSCHEN
 ALS SICH ZIMPT

‘Schweigen ist guot.’

I. 1

‘Reden ist pesser, wer im recht tuot, der wol reden
 kan.’

‘Dem statt schweigen nit übel an.’

3

‘Es ist ain zeit ze reden vnd ain zeit ze schweigen.
 Du solt des ersten schweigen, hern vnd lernen, das du

4

5

darnach kundest reden, antwurten vnd vnderweyssen.

6 Du solt schweigen, das du nicht vnderstossest des
7 andern red. Du solt schweigen, das du betrachten
8 migest, was du reden wellest. Du solt schweigen bey
den veinden in gedultikait, aber etlichs schweigen ist
vnloblich, als da ain mensch verschweigt sein peicht
vnd des nechsten strauß vnd anweyssen.

II. 1 So du nun reden wilt, des ersten merck wer du
seyest vnd, ob dir zuogehör ze reden, so red, oder ob
2 es zuo ainem andern zuogehert, so schweig. Vnd ob
du seyest guotz muotz, so red, aber on nucz so red nit.
3, 4 Vnd ob du seyest vernünfftigs gemütz, so red. Pistu
aber zornig vnd betrübt, so schweig, wann der zorn
vernebelt vnd irrett des gemütt, das es die warheit nit
mag bekennen, noch vernemen weyslichen das recht.
5 Vnd ob du seyest wissen die sach von der du reden
6, 7 wilt, so red. Ist sie dir aber vnkund, so red nit. Vnd
ob du seyest vnschuldig sellicher sach von der wegen
8 du dein nechsten straffen wilt, so red. Pistu aber
9 sellicher sach auch schuldig, so schweig. Du solt
mercken, das du redest das war sey vnd nit gelogens,
wann wiltu zu eren kummen, so fleyß dich alzeit der
10 warhait vnd hütt dich vor allem liegen. Du solt reden
zimliche wort, nit hoffertige wort, nit scheltwort, nit
kriegische wort, nit spottwort, nit hinderred, nit
schmaichend wort, nitt vnküschel wort, vnvernünfftige
noch vnnütze wort, auch nit miessige noch verporgne
wort.

III. 1, 2 Du solt auch mercken mit wem du reden wellest. So
3 merck, ob der dein fraind sey oder nitt. Mit deinem
fraind so red süssylich mit hoffen, doch merck vor, ob
4 er dein warer fraind sey oder nitt. Ist er dein fraind,
dennocht sag nit ainem yedlichen fraind dein haim-
lichait, das du nitt sorgen müessest, ob er dein veind
5 wurd vnd es von dir offenbaret. Es ist sicherer bey
dir verschwigen, dann das du ainen andern bittest, das

er es verschweig. Aber mit deinem veind soltu wenig 6
reden vnd mit nichten gib im dein mainung zuo versten.
Mit dem weyssen soltu gern reden vnd mit dem toren 7
hab kainen ravtt. Mit dem guttigen red vnd hiet dich 8
vor dem spettigen. Mit dem stillen vnd beschayden 9
red vnd hüt dich vor dem cleffigen vnd vnbeschayden
vnd red auch wenig mit truncken lütten.

Nu merck warumb man reden sol: Zuo dem ersten, IV. 1, 2
vmb gottes ere vnd vmb dein notturft mit der warheit
vnd beschaidenhait. Du solt auch reden vmb nütz und 3
frumen deines nechsten in gerechtikait vnd von deines
frainds oder veinds willen soltu nichtz vnrechtz reden.

Nu merck wie man reden sol: Item, red dine wort
sittlich, messicklich mit rechter gepärd des mundes, mit
mittler stimme, mit auffgehebetem haupt. Nicht peyß
die leffen noch schleck mit der zungen vnd nicht vicht
mit den henden. Nach vnderschaid der sach dar du
reden wilt soltu richten deine wort, wann vnder stunden
sol man reden ernstlich, vnder stunden schimpfflich
vnd frölich, vnder weillen traurichlich, doch alweg ver-
stendiclich.

Vnd merck auch ob notturfftig sey zuo reden vnd VI. ob man well zuo hören deinen worten, so red, vnd nit gib antwurt vor der frag. Hab auch ordnung in deiner red, waß du an dem anfang vnd an dem ende wellest.

Item, an vnderscheidlichen stetten sol man vnder- VII. r
scheidlichen reden. In der kirchen soltu petten vnd 2
got loben. In der peicht soltu dein sünd verjehen. 3
In dem spittall sol man die armen trösten. In der 4, 5
wirtschaft soltu züchtige vnd erbere wort reden. Und 6
in allem deinem leben soltu trew sein vnd die warhait
halten vor allen dingen.

Ihs xps, das ewig wort, sprech uns ein die rechten VIII.
warhait, vnd das wir jm reden wolgefellige wort, das er
sich selber unß geb vnd sey vnser ewiger hord, hie vnd
yemer, ewiclichen. Amen.'

DER DEUTSCHE MELIBEUS

Beginning :—

Vil menschen, die in widerwertikait vnd in trübsal als ser gekestiget vnd in irem gemüte bekummert werden, das sie vor betrüpnus ires gemütz kainen rat noch trost nicht gehalten mügen weder von in selbs noch von yemantz anders, das sie von einem übel in ain grossers fallent: Darumb lieber sun Johannes, wann du dich übest in der wundartztkunst, so han ich mich gedacht, dir davon zu schreiben, damit du mit der hilff gottes den vorgeschriben, die also in trübsal begriffen seind, wol trostlichen pist nicht allain an dem leybe, auch mit rat, trost vnd hilff.

Conclusion :—

Da nu Melibeus gemerket hett vleisslichen und vffgenommen alles, das vorher geschriben stet, Da sprach er: 'Liebe Prudencia! Ich verstan alle weysheit vnd fürsichtikeit in dir. Darumb bitt ich dich, das du zu der sach tust das vns die erlichen entzogen werde.' Nach vil red, die tzu beiden seyten sich verluffen, da pracht Prudencia den widerteyl zu Melibeo vnd das die demütiglich genaden begerten vnd gelopten, vndertenig zu sein mit leib vnd mit gut vnd ewiglichen zu leben in allem seinem willen.

(Further extracts are given in Vol. 12 of Kürschners
Deutsche Nationalliteratur.)

MEISTER ALBERTUS LERE

I

VON DER KUNST ZU REDEN UNDE ZU
SWIGEN

EIN meister hiez Albertus,
 Der sprach zu sime son alsus :
 'Ich wil dir ein lere geben,
 Die solt du vernemen eben,
 Und sage dir, liebez min kint, 5
 Daz gar wenig lude sint,
 Die da können zu rechten ziden
 Antwurten unde swigen.
 Vogel, wurme unde dier,
 Der zunge ir nature swiget schier ; 10
 Aber mensche, wip und man,
 Der zunge nieman gezemen kan.
 Davon ich dir wil raden wol,
 Als ich zu recht und billich sol,
 Wiltu mich vernemen eben, 15
 Wie du solt rede und antwort geben,
 Und wanne du solt swigen
 Und reden zu rechten ziden.
 So du din rede wilt fahen an,
 Nim ein bizeichen bi dem han. 20
 E er sin stimme lat uz sinem munde,
 So schlecht er sich dri stunde
 Mit sinem vettichen ; — an daz
 Wis gemant und betracht dich baz
 Waz du zu reden willen habest, 25
 E wan du icht herus gesagest,
 Und betrachte dri worbe in dich,
 Obe din wort sin redelich.

Und wan du sie hast vollenbracht,
 So nim diner worte gar eben acht 30
 Und mercke wer, waz oder wem
 Du zu sprichest, ez si disem oder dem,
 Und warumbe, wie oder wanne,
 Daz solt du allez betrachten e.

Zu dem ersten male, so swig und hore 35
 Und luster eben mit dime ore
 Wer rede oder waz man sage,
 Und swic biz man dich frage.
 Und gat die rede dich nit an,
 So swic und laz sie hin gan 40
 Oder antwurt also bescheidenlich,
 Daz nieman moge gestrafen dich.
 Wanne ez sprichet der Katho
 In sinem buche also :

‘Die erste tugent an frauwen und man 45
 Ist wer sin zunge betwingen kan,
 Und wer mit bescheidenheit kan swigen,
 Bi dem wonet got zu allen ziden.’
 Ez ist auch eins wisen mannes lere :
 ‘Wer twinget sin zunge, behut sin sele.’ 50
 Sant Peter spricht in sinen buchen :
 ‘Wer leben und gude zit wil suchen,
 Der sol sin zunge betwingen,
 So mag er leben und gude zit vinden.’
 Man sol auch numer fur ware gesagen 55
 Da man zwivel moge an haben.
 Ein wise man wart gefraget darumbe,
 Wer aller beste reden kunde.

Er antwurt unde sprach :
 ‘Rede waz du wilt, do ez geschach 60
 Und da kein zwivel an moge ligen;
 Es ist anders besser vil geswigen.’

Zu dem andern male, so mercke waz
 Du redest, ez si diz oder daz,

Obe ez si ein warheit	65
Oder valsch si darzu geleit ;	
Wan vor allen dingen	
So laz dich an warheit vinden	
Und behude dich vor liegen,	
Wiltu dich nit selbe triegen.	70
Du wirst anders so gar unwert,	
Daz din nieman nit begert.	
Din wort sollen auch sin endehaft	
Und stede ; so mogen sie haben craft.	
Davon Sante Paulus seit :	75
‘Hude din wort vor uppikeit.’	
Din wort und din stimme	
Sol auch numer wesen zu grimme.	
Du solt suze wort uz lazen	
Und solt dich ubeler rede mazen.	80
Davon sprach gar schon	
Der wise konig Salomon :	
‘Suze wort bringent fruntschaft vil,	
Bose rede vintschaft haben wil.’	
Du solt nit reden schemelich	85
Und solt hubscher worte flizen dich,	
Wan schamper rede, damide	
Schendet man gude side.	
Din wort sollen auch senfte wesen,	
Wiltu vor vintschaft genesen,	90
Wan senfte antwurt stillent zorn,	
Mit hezziger rede wirt haz geborn.	
Din rede sol auch sin offenbar	
Und nit verborgen ; daz ist war.	
Bezzer ist ein stumme sin,	95
Wan nieman verste die rede din.	
Du solt nit reden heimelich,	
Des du must offenbar schemen dich.	
Du solt auch in ernstlichen sachen	
Nieman zu keime spotte machen,	100

Wan wer die lude verspotten wil,
 Der wirt auch gerne verspottet vil.
 Du solt auch nit hoffertig sin
 Mit Worten und mit den reden din,
 Wan hoffertige straffe wort 105
 Machent meineide unde mort.
 Du solt auch allezit flizen dich,
 Daz du it redest unnutzeclich,
 Wan alle die unnutze wort,
 Die wir reden hie und dort 110
 Uppecliche die wile wir leben,
 Da muosen wir got umb rechenunge geben.
 Zu dem dritten male, so merck zu wem
 Du redest, ez si disem oder dem,
 Und luge umb dich gar snelle, 115
 Ob er si frunt, vint oder geselle.
 Ist er ein din bewerter frunt,
 So du im din heimelichkeit kunt,
 Oder ein geselle der swigen kan,
 Da machtu dich auch wol lazen an. 120
 Aber keinen dinen alten vint
 Soltu nit offen heimelich dinc,
 Wie wol er deme gliche dut,
 Daz er si din frunt gut.
 Davon her Salomon hat gesprochen: 125
 'Alt vintschaft wirt gerne gerochen.'
 Du solt auch dines gespreches huden
 Mit doren und unweisen luden.
 Davon sprach ein wise man:
 'Nieman keime dore gevallen kan, 130
 Er spreche im denne in sin ore
 Waz in lustet und gerne hore.'
 Und wo cleffisch lude sint,
 Die fluch mit reden, liebez kint,
 Und alle verspottere, 135
 Die fluch mit reden sere,

Ez sin frauwen oder man,
Du must anders scham oder schaden han.
Du solt auch heimliche rede verswigen
Mit druncken luden unde wiben, 140
Wie sie sich des nit konnen mazen,
Daz sie ir claffen it lazen.
Also wart allezit umb dich
Zu wem du redest, daz rade ich,
Daz din rede it werde getragen, 145
Daz ez dir kommen moge zu schaden.
Zu dem vierden male, betracht auch daz,
Umb welche sache und umb waz
Du redest, ob ez si den luden not
Zu lernen gude wort durch got. 150
Also paffen und bredigere,
Die den luden gebent gude lere,
Daz solt du dun offentlich,
Daz nieman moge gestrafen dich.
Merken solt du auch dabi, 155
Ob dir zu reden notdurft si,
Wie du dinen lip generest.
So sich, daz du it swerest
Und des it mit worten beginnest,
Wie du gut mit abesweren gewinnest, 160
Du verlusest anders zu der stunt
Din ere, din sele, dinen lumunt.
Und hast du 'n frunt, dem du bist holt,
Vor den du reden und biden solt,
So wirp numer vor in die dinc, 165
Die schemelich oder schadeber sint.
Noch solt du mit keinen sachen
Offen bosheit unschuldig machen,
Du bist anders also schuldic daran,
Als jener, der die hat gedan. 170
Ist aber din frunt oder din mac
Unschuldic des man in gezigen hat,

So schirme in und hilf in fast
 Mit worten, wo du kanst oder mast.
 Daz ist recht und gotlich, 175
 Darumb mac nieman gestrafen dich.
 Zu dem funften mal alhie,
 Soltu, kint, auch mercken wie!
 Du solt zu reden maze haben.
 So du din rede heruz wilt sagen, 180
 Des ersten, solt du frolich anheben,
 Und solt einfeltig erber wort reden,
 Und besich die lude nit hie und dort.
 Habe senfte rede und suze wort,
 Und hebe din antlitz ufrecht, 185
 Und dine lefsen eben schlecht.
 Antwurt mit siden betrachteclich,
 Mit den augen sich vor dich,
 Dinen hals nit crumbe,
 Mit den augbrawen swenck nit umbe, 190
 Und du dinen mund nit uf so wit.
 So ander lude redent, so swic
 Und habe hin bi din ore.
 Waz man redet, daz hore
 Und mercke bi ander lude sinnen, 195
 Waz rede du wollest beginnen.
 Du solt doch nit zu male swigen,
 Noch din rede zu vil antriben.
 Wer den luden wol gevallen wil,
 Der antwurt lutzel und hore vil 200
 Und si mit worten nit zu swinde
 Und si an der gehorde gar behende.
 Ein wise man wart gefraget daz,
 Warumbe er zu antworten were so laz.
 Er sprach: 'Ein dor kan nit swigen, 205
 Er muz claffen zu allen ziden.'
 Davon sprichet gar schon
 Der wise konig Salomon:

‘Wer da wol geswigen kan,
Der heizet wol ein wise man; 210
Wie im witze nit wonet bi,
Man wenet doch, daz er wise si.’

Zu dem sechsten male, so merck auch wol
Zu welicher zit man reden sol,
Wan er ist ein wise man, 215
Der zu rechter zit reden kan.
Davon du dinen munt besluz
Bis ander lude geredent uz
Und din wort mogen vorganc han;
Danne so hebe din rede an 220
Und sage din notdurft bescheidenlich.
So kan man vernemen dich,
Wan Salomon spricht: ‘Wer antwurt vor,
E man in verhare, der ist ein dor,
Und wer e rede dan er gelerne, 225
Der wil zu spotte werden gerne.’

Zu dem lesten, solt du auch vernemen,
Daz du din zunge solt also zemen
Vor bosen worten und bosen claffen,
Und solt auch din herze machen, 230
Daz ez nit glauben habe
Alles, daz man im gesage.
Du solt betwingen din ore,
Daz ez nit alzit hore
Bose cleffe und bose wort, 235
Die jederman claffet hie und dort.
Und also du dich mit worten
Solt huten an allen orten.
Also solt du auch flizeclich
Vor bosen worten huten dich 240
Und solt got biden sere,
Daz er dir furbaz mere
Gezam mache alle stunt
Dine zunge und dinen munt,

Daz sie sinen lop kunden
 Und daz du werdest funden
 In sime dienste flizeclich,
 Umer, an ende, ewiclich.

245

AMEN.

II

WIE GAR NUTZE FRAGEN SI

Wer gerne hete sinne und witze,
 Dem were wise lere nutze 250
 Und daz er hete wisen rat
 Mit flize fru unde spat.
 Davon wil ich raden wol,
 Daz sich nieman schemen sol,
 Er wolle furbaz fragen 255
 Und wolle im heizen sagen,
 Wo er nit weiz umb die dinc,
 Die eime andern kuntlich sint;
 Wan fragen, daz si dir geseit,
 Daz ist ein sluzzel der wisheit. 260
 Wer fraget daz er nit enkan,
 Der wil sich nemen wisheit an.
 Von fragen wirt zwivel abe genommen,
 Von fragen komet dicke fromen,
 Fragen ist auch nutze me, 265
 Wer irret, daz er recht ge,
 Und zu maniger leie sachen
 Mochte man fragen nutze machen.
 Darumbe sollen wir mercken eben,
 Wer uns sol rat geben. 270
 Davon Sant Jacob gesprochen hat:
 'Wir sollen an got heischen rat,'
 Wan ane got an allen dingen
 Mac nieman nustnit vollenbringen.

Als er selbe hat geseit, 275
An im stat alle wisheit,
Er weiz ubel unde gut,
Er bekennet iegeliches mut
Und alle vorgesehen dinc
Und die gegenwertic sint 280
Und waz noch geschehen sol,
Die weiz er allesament wol
Und sint im allesament gar
Mugelich und offenbar.
Davon sollen wir in rufen an, 285
Sit er uns wol geraden kan,
Und sollen in biden mit andacht,
Daz unse sache werde vollenbracht,
Und alle dinc die wir begern,
So wil er uns alzit gewern. 290
Darnach solt du gan selbe in dich,
Und solt gar betrachteclich
Rat in dir suchen her und dar
Und solt vil eben nemen war
In dins selbes herzen und sinnen, 295
Ob du kundest etwas vinden,
Daz dir nutze si und gut,
Wie du vor schaden sist behut,
Und du kein dinc in dime zorn,
Anders din wisheit ist verlorn. 300
Wer in sime zorne dut ein dinc,
Der wirt gerne an den sinnen blint
Und mac nicht bekennen wol
Waz er dun oder lazen sol.
Du solt auch keinen ubermut 305
Vollenbringen zu vil, daz ist dir gut,
Wan wer sin mutgelust wil han,
Daz mac kume an schade ergan,
Und uberige mutgelust
Ist dicke lip und sele verlust. 310

Du solt auch mit dem berade din
 Numer nit zu swinde sin.
 Wem zu beraden ist zu gach,
 Da gat vil gerne ruwe nach.
 Also solt du nustnit dun e 315
 Du betrachttest vor waz danach ge.
 So mac dir wol gelingen,
 Daz solt du wol bevinden.
 Ist aber daz einer nit enkan
 Oder mac rat von im selbe han, 320
 So sol er suchen hin und her
 Zu luden, die wizzen me dan er.
 Und doch nit allen luden gar
 Din heimelichkeit offenbar,
 Und verhel dins selbes laster vast, 325
 Wo du kanst oder mast,
 Und entbloze din scham ieglichen nicht;
 Ich sage dir anders wie dir geschicht:
 Du mochtest dem clagen din leit,
 Er wolte es were also breit, 330
 Und lachte er dich vorwert an,
 Er wolte dich hinderwert verkeuft han.
 Davon solt du dich betrachten
 Und solt in dir selbe achten,
 Wer die ratlude sollen sin, 335
 Den du wilt sagen den willen din.
 Hievon leret uns gar schon
 Der wise konig Salomon.
 Er sprach: 'Du solt nit iederman
 Getruwen, der dich lachet an.' 340
 Wan du guden rat wilt haben,
 So solt du wise lude fragen,
 Die du vorware vil wol weist,
 Daz sie din frunt sint aller meist,
 Und die du wol beweret hast, 345
 Daz du in wol getruwen mast,

Und die wislich können gebären
Und die witzig sint an den jaren;
Wann der bewerte frunt allein
Ist bezzer dan golt, silber und gestein. 350
Ez kan auch nieman gar bevinden
Waz ein wise man mac vollenbringen.
So er alleine betrachtet in sich,
Er vichtet wider menlich
Ane wafen und ane slac. 355
Er machet vinster, so es ist tac.
Er machet mit siner wisheit allein,
Daz vil groz dinc wirt gar clein,
Und so ein dinc gar nahe ist,
Er machet ez verre mit sime list. 360
Er kan auch machen ganze dinc
Uz stucken, die zurbrochen sint.
Er wendet unde keret,
Er minret unde meret.
Davon man gerne sol haben rat 365
Von eime, der wisheit in im hat;
Wan der wise man, ane spot,
Ist in dem huse der muse dot.
Die alten lude sol man auch fragen;
Wan sie können wol gesagen, 370
Waz hievor ist beschehen,
Manigez daz sie habent gesehen
Und daz sie auch besuchet hant,
Davon in wisheit ist bekant.
Und so du hast vernomen war 375
Iegliches rates, her und dar,
So solt du eben mercken dabi,
Waz dir aller nutzest si,
Und solt zu aller leste
Uz in allen welen daz beste. 380
Ist daz du suchest also rat,
So wiz, daz ez dir wol gat

An libe und auch an sele,
 An gut und auch an ere.
 Und an allen dingen 385
 Mac dir wol gelingen.
 Hast du wol vernomen eben,
 Wer dir wisen rat kan geben,
 So solt du auch mercken wol,
 Wen man zu ratgebe miden sol. 390
 Zu dem ersten, so solt du dore fliehen
 Und solt dich von irme rade ziehen;
 Wan ein dor vil gerne erzeiget
 Waz zu dorheit ist geneiget,
 Und wie er in dem sinne hat, 395
 Also kan er geben rat.
 Du solt auch nit junge kint
 Fragen umb kein wise dinc;
 Wan ir sin nit ist bereit
 Anders wan zu dorheit. 400
 Davon sprichet aber gar schon
 Der wise konic Salomon:
 'We und leit daz lant an gat,
 Daz ein kint zu konige hat.'
 Du solt auch boser lude rat 405
 Schuhen fru unde spat;
 Wan sie mit iren sinnen
 Kein gut dinc mogen beginnen.
 Dir sol auch sin unmere
 Der rat der schmeichelere; 410
 Sie geben den luden suzen munt
 Und betriegent sie zu stunt,
 Als ein vogeler, der laget
 Dem vogel biz er in gevahet.
 Du solt auch keinem gleuben vil, 415
 Wir saget dir eins und anders wil,
 Und sprichet gein dir schone wort
 Und meinet hinderwert anders dort.

Und wer din vint gewesen ist,
 Wie du mit im versunet bist, 420
 Du solt sinen rat doch miden
 Darnach zu allen ziden,
 Und solt im furbaz nit getruwen,
 Ez mac dich anders wol geruwen.
 Und wer durch voht dir raden sol 425
 Und nit durch liebe, dem getrew nit wol.
 So er din bestez dir sol werben,
 Er redet dir du must verderben;
 Wan nieman gerne minnet
 Da man in zu betwinget. 430
 Also betrachte fru und spat
 Zu wem du sollest nemen rat
 Und wen du sollest fliehen
 Oder zu rade ziehen.
 Und wilt du daran volgen mir, 435
 So mac wol gelingen dir.

III

VON DER E UND VON DER HUSZUCHT

I. Wie man in der e leben sol

Wer elich leben recht wil haben,
 Der sol gerne horen davon sagen,
 Obe er komen wolle darzu,
 Daz er doch wizze waz er du, 440
 Oder wer itzunt ist dabi,
 Daz er wizze waz er si,
 Und wie die e von rechte si worden
 Ein gesetzte und auch ein orden,
 Und wer den orden habe geben, 445
 Und wie man solle darinne leben,
 Und wo der orden si gemacht,

Oder warumbe er si erdacht,
 Und wie ez damide solle ergan,
 Und wie man damide moge bestan, 450
 Oder wie man darinne halte sich,
 Daz ez got si lobelich.

Die e ist heilic, gerecht und gut.
 Wer in der e rechte dut.
 Und sich hêltet ordenlich, 455

Der erwirbet wol daz himelrich.
 Aber vil lude nit erkennen wollen,
 Wie sie die e halten sollen

Ist in ewiclichen unbekant;
 Davon die e wirt dicke geschant. 460

Sie halten sie nit als sie sollen;

Wan sie keiner lere volgen wollen.

Wie vil man sie gelernen kan,

So volgent sie doch nieman.

Sie lebent nach irs selbes mut, 465

Als unverstanden vihe dut,

Daz sich an got nit keret

Und sich selbe oder nieman eret,

Und auch nit ordenlich heltet sich,

Und lebent unvernunftelich 470

Und auch ane alle bescheidenheit.

Ir eins dem andern nit vertreit,

Sie sint auch gar veruneinet,

Ir keins daz ander mit truwe meinert,

Ir eins dem andern sin spise nimet, 475

Ez granet, ez bizet, ez slecht, ez grimet,

Ir keins dem andern gudes gan,

Sie zannent und bellent einander an.

Wo kuschen eluden also geschicht,

Da ist kein rechte e nicht, 480

Und wart auch die e nit also êrdacht

Oder gesetzet oder gemacht.

Got hat den menschen geordinieret

Und vor andern creaturen gezieret,
Daz er hat vernunft und erkenntnisse, 485
Bescheidenheit und verstantnisse,
Und er bekennet bose und gut,
Daz kein ander creature dut
Wan alleine des menschen kint;
Die andern alle unvernunftig sint. 490
Ir wesen zergat auch in korzer frist;
Des menschen wesen ewic ist.
Stirbet hie sin lip und lit darnider,
Er estat und wird lebendig wider.
Daz dut kein creature me, 495
So sie erstirbet, daz sie wider erste
Oder daz sie vernunft habe;
Wan der mensche daz hat von gnade,
Die im got sonderlich hat geben.
Davon er vernunfteclich sol leben 500
Und sol in ordenung halten sich,
Daz er nit du eime vihe glich,
Daz nit achtet wie ime geschicht,
Und hat zu got kein zuversicht
Oder nit sorget wie ez ime erge 505
Und wie ez ewiglich erste.
Der mensche sol vochten sinen got
Und sol behalten sin gebot
Und sol volgen siner lere,
Und sol sime gemahel bieten ere 510
Und sol in mit zochten liep haben
Und sol in ubersehen und vertragen
Und sol in numer zornig machen
Ane scholt und redeliche sachen
Und sol dugentliche mit ime leben, 515
Als uns got bizeichen hat geben.
Wie man an allen dingen
Sol elich werk volbringen
Und wie man mide gebaren sol,

Daz wirt man hernach horen wol. 520
 Do got den ersten menschen liez werden,
 Beschuf und machte er in us erden
 Und, do er in hate beschaffen,
 Liez er in suzeclichen slafen.
 Den menschen hiez er Adam. 525
 Uz sime libe er im ein rippe nam,
 Und machte im daruz ein wip,
 Und leite sie Adam bi sinen lip.
 Unse herre det sie ufstan,
 Und hiez sie beide zu ime gan. 530
 Daz wip wart Eva genant.
 Got nam sie beide mit der han̄.
 Er sprach: 'Ir zwei ein lip sint.
 Ir sollent mit einander machen kint
 Und sollen wahsen hie uf erde, 535
 Daz uwer vil werde,
 Und minnen einander furbaz me!'
 Also machte got von ersten die e.
 Diz geschach an der heiligsten stat,
 Die iergent uf ertrich lac 540
 (Und auch in der heiligsten zit)
 Dar alle menschen nie in quamen sit.
 Die stat das Paradise ist genant.
 Sie zwei, beide sant,
 Waren zu der zeit und stunden 545
 Ledic und los von allen sunden.
 Davon in der cristenheit
 Die e heizet ein heilikeit;
 Wan sie got selbe gemachet hat
 In heiliger zit und an heiliger stat, 550
 Und begat man ez in der cristenheit
 Also got ez hie vor hat angeleit.
 Das mogen wir wol mercken heran:
 Wan man wil ein brutlauf han,
 Man leit die brutlude slafen nider 555

Und hebet sie darnach uf wider,
Als unse herre slafen liez
Adam und Eva, sie hiez
Daz sie solten wider ufstan.
Darnach sollen sie zu der kirchen gan. 560
Daz bezeichent uns die heilige stat,
Da got die e gemachet hat.
Der priester nimet sie da mit der hant.
Da bi ist uns daz bekant,
Daz got mit der hant nam 565
Eva und auch Adam
Und beval zu einander sie,
Also dut sie auch der priester hie.
Und daz Adam und Eva heilic waren,
Also sol man heilicliche gebaren : 570
Der brudigome und sin wip
Sollen nider knuwen an der zit
Und sollen bichten und horen mezze
Und biden, daz got ir nicht vergezze,
Und biden flizecliche und sere, 575
Daz got in libes eren beschere
Und gut, damit sie sich ernerren
Nach godes lobe und mit eren.
Wer also bidet und also dut,
So ist die e heilic und gut. 580
Daz diz si war und bewert,
So hat got selbe die e geert.
Daz geschach zu einer offen hochzit
In einer stat, die zu Galilea lit.
Dahin quam ein groze schar, 585
Die alle waren geladen dar,
Godes junger was auch vil da
Und lhesus selbe und Maria.
Da begunde in wines gebresten sin,
Got selbe machte in uz wazzer win. 590
Der win was also gut und zart,

Daz bezzer win uf erden nie wart.
 Sie druncken, daz sie frolich worden.
 Damit got erte den heiligen orden.
 Hete man sunde begangen daran, 595
 Daz man brutlauf hete getan,
 Got were selbe nit komen dar
 Und hete da nit gezeichnet offenbar.

Got hat uns auch ordenunge geben,
 Wie wir in der e sollen leben. 600

Der orden ist also stark
 Als ie kein orden geordent wart.
 Der mensche ist selic ewiglich
 Und besitzet mit got daz himelrich.
 Die e ist darumbe gedacht, 605
 Daz kint da werdent vollenbracht
 Und menschenkunne uf erde
 Davon gemeret werde.

Und ist auch gemacht darumbe,
 Daz wir mit unkusche begen kein sunde. 610

Davon Sant Paulus: 'Jederman,
 Der sol sin elich wip han
 Und sol unkusche vermeiden

Mit andern frauwen und wiben.'

Wie man die e recht halten sol, 615

Des bedurfen alle elude wol

Daz sie ez wizzen eben,

Wie sie in der e sollen leben.

Die e ist und heizet ein dinc,

Da zwei in eime willen sint, 620

Da ein man und auch ein wip

Zusammen gelobent iren lip,

Daz sich ir keins von den andern scheide

Weder durch liebe noch durch leide,

Und mit einander wollen liden 625

Ubel und gut zu allen ziden.

Wir sich also vermischet hat,

Die vermischunge nieman gescheiden mac,
Wan alterseine unse herre got
Mit geistlichem leben oder mit dem dot, 630
Ez irre denne etlich ander dinc,
Die hie nit notdurftic zu sagen sint,
Also wise paffen daz wizzen wol,
Waz sache ein e hindern sol.
Diz sollen wir gewigen, 635
Und lazen wir'z also triben
Und horen sagen furbaz me,
Wie man sich sol halten in der e.
Ein eman und ein ewip
Sollen haben zwo selen und einen lip 640
Und sollen ir leben zu allen ziden
Nach godes lobe vertriben
Und sollen sich in tugenden uben.
Ir keinz daz ander sol betruben
Also verre ez mac und kan. 645
Sie sollen einander liep han,
Und mogen miteinander dun die dinc,
Die mogelich und gewonlich sint,
Und sollen davor huden sich,
Daz sie nit leben vihelich 650
*(Und sollen nit sin unbekant
Als diere die kein verstentnisse hant.
Es sin frauwen oder man,
Sie sollen got vor augen han.)*
Und sollen nit vollenbringen 655
Iren wollust an allen dingen,
Und sollen leben in gotlicher vochten
Mit mezeclicher zeme und zochten.
Sie sollen sich also vereinen,
Daz sie einander mit truwen meinen 660
Und sol einz dem andern getruwe wesen ;
So mogen sie an libe und an sele genesen,
Ir einz dem andern billich gan

Waz ez im selbe wil haben getan.
 Sie sollen mit einander gliche zeren 665
 Und einz sol helfen daz ander generen.
 Nit daz der man ge zu dem win
 Und laze die frauwe in gebresten sin,
 Oder daz die frauwe hinderwert ezze
 Und ires mannes gar vergezze. 670
 Also an allen dingen
 Sol einz des andern truwe bevinden.
 Doch sol die frauwe irem man
 Gehorsam sin und undertan
 In dem huse an aller stede 675
 Zu rechten dingen an widerrede.
 Er sol ir auch nit muden zu,
 Daz si numer kein unrecht du.
 Sie sol sich erberliche ziehen
 Und sol gesponsen schuwen und fliehen. 680
 Sie sol sich nit ufspitzen und florieren
 Und sol sich uf keinen andern zieren,
 Daz sie eime andern gevalle wol;
 Irme eman sie gevallen sol.
 Sie sol dem man nit ziehen abe 685
 Hinderwert und heimeliche sin habe.
 Sie sol in halten in friden und eren
 Und sol sich an keinen andern keren.
 Sie sol in nit kiveln nacht und tac
 Und snadern als ein gans: 'Bap, bap.' 690
 Wolte sie nit friden und gemache haben
 Und wurde davon wol zerslagen,
 Da dete der man kein sunde an,
 Obe sie im des nit wolte erlan.
 Der man sol auch sin elich wip 695
 Haben lieb als sinen eigen lip.
 Er sol sie zuchteclich handeln und eren
 Und sol sich an kein andre keren.
 Er sol gedencken daran,

Daz sie hat vader und muder gelan 700
Unde alle frunde, die ir ie worden,
Und zu im getreden ist in den orden.

Er sol sie handeln tugentlich
Und sol sie strafen zuchteclich.
Hete im ieman it getan, 705

Daz sol er sie nit entgelten lan.
Wolte er sinen zorn und ungedult
Lazen gan uber sie an alle schult
Oder, so er wol getruncken habe,
Daz er sie dan bluwe und slage, 710

Daz ir villichte gat abe ein kint,
Oder ir widervert ein ander dinc,
Daz irme libe geschicht gar we,
So wirt gevelschet da die e.

Hie sollen frauwen unde man 715
Zu aller zit gedencken an :

‘Die frauwe sol dem manne vertragen.
Er solt sie ane schult nit slagen.
Ir einz dem andern ubersehen sol.
So geschicht in allen beiden wol.’ 720

Mensche mercke, mit siben sachen
Velscht man die e und dut sie swachen.
Wer also die e wil besitzen,
Der pliget nit guter witzen ;
Er verluset alzit damit sin sele 725
Und dicke lip, gut und ere.

Daz leider von manigem menschen geschicht
Und scheidet man die e doch darumb nicht ;
Ez heizet vor der welt wol hie ein e
Und wirt dort ewiglich ein we. 730

Die erste sache ist wo ein man
Eine frauwe gelobet elich zu han
Und, wan er ir daz gut verzert,
Daz er sich dan von ir kert
Und ir nit hilfet noch redet me, 735

So wirt an in gevelschet die e.

Die ander ist wo man und wip
Einander an der e gelobent ir lip
Und welchez dem andern untruwe dut
Mit andern gesponsen, daz ist nit gut 740
Und ist die e gebrochen
Und wirt gar swerliche gerochen.

Die dritte la dir sin geseit:
Wer got gelobet sin kuschheit
Und darnach grifet zu der e, 745
Also dicke er unkuschet vorbas me,
So dut er alle stunde
Ein dotliche sunde.

Die vierde: Wer beredet sin kint
Da unertic groz gut sint 750
Und die mit unrecht sint gewonnen,
Weiz er'z und hat er'z vernomen,
Der velschet die e gar sere
Und wirt der sele gar swere.

Die funfte: Wer der heiligen zit 755
Oder siechen frauwen lip
Nit schont und sich daran nit kert,
Davon wirt die e geunert,
Und komet vil gerne davon gebort,
Die unselic werdent hie und dort. 760

Die sechste sache ist daz,
Wo elude einander sint gehaz
Und keinz dem andern gudes gan
Und zannent und grinent einander an
Und keinz dem andern wil vertragen. 765
Die muzent alzit ungluck haben
Und sint unselic umer mere
An libe, an sele, an gut und an ere.

Die sibende: Wer mit unkuschen dingen
Wil bosen wollust vollenbringen 770
Und ubet wider die nature sich,
Eime unverstanden vihe glich.

Da erzurnet man got gar sere mit,
Wer sich davor hudet nit. .

Welich mensch nit underwegen lat 775
Valsch, daz im vorgeschriben stat
An eime diser sibben dinge . . . ,
Der beheltet unrecht sin e
Und wirt verdampnet umer me
Ane ende und ewiglich, 780
Er wolle dan bekeren sich
Und wolle ruwe darumb han
Und wolle furbaz davon lan.
Wo auch diz nicht geschicht,
So sol er haben kein zuversicht 785
Zu dem, der uns die e hat geben,
Oder zu dem ewigen leben.

2. Wie man sich gein den kinden halten sol

Wil got den luden kinde beschern,
Sie sollen sie ziehen und gern
Und sollen in narunge geben ; 790
Und mercke wie man sol mit in leben :
Man darf den luden nit vaste sagen,
Daz sie ir kinde liep haben.
Die nature sie darzu twingt,
Daz ein yedlich mensche sin kint minnt, 795
Und ist zu vochten vil mere,
Daz sie ir kinde minnen zu sere
Wan die minne si zu cleine.
Mercket wie man daz gemeine :
Wer leit an die kinde zu groze liebe, 800
Der machet uz in doren und diebe.
Man sol in zit strafen die kint
Die wile sie in der jugent sint
Und sol sie mit ruden slahen,
Biz daz sie wisheit gevahen. 805

Davon sprichet gar schon
 Der wise konic Salomon :
 ' Du solt din kinde ziehen,
 Daz sie die dorheit fliehen.'
 Dorheit in kinde herzen helt hus, 810
 Mit ruden tribt man sie wider uz,
 Und wan dorheit enwec fluhet,
 Die wisheit sich dan wider in zuhet.
 Wer sinen kinden zu vil verhenget,
 Der wirt vil gerne an in geschendet 815
 Und gelebet an in groz herzeleit
 Und komet sin auch dicke in arbeit.
 Herwider, so kinde wise werdent
 Und vader und muder hie ersterbent,
 Sie werdent bi got des frauwen sich 820
 In jener werlte ewiglich.
 Davon sol man in dorheit weren
 Und sol in zucht und wisheit leren
 Und, daz sie got vor allen dingen
 Anbeden, eren unde minnen, 825
 Und auch leren erkennen dabi
 Waz recht und unrecht getan si,
 Daz sie daz gude triben
 Und daz bose vermeiden.
 Man sol sie auch leren etwas, 830
 Davon sie sich generen desten baz
 So vader und muder ersterben,
 Daz sie nit bedeler werden.
 Du solt dich mit zorn auch nicht vergahen,
 So du din kint wilt strafen und slahen. 835
 Du solt sie strafen in bescheidener mazen
 Und solt sie auch nit vaste hazzen.
 Da han wir ein bizeichen an :
 Welcher mensche got wil liep han,
 Den strafet er mit manigen dingen 840
 Und behelt in doch in siner minnen.

Wizzen sollen auch die kint,
Die zu iren tagen komen sint,
Welchez kint dut nit recht und eben,
Dem ist sin vader nit schuldic zu geben 845
Noch zu helfen vil oder wenic
Die wile es im ist nit undertenic.
Ez sol auch nit erben sins vader gut,
Wo ez unrecht^e wider in dut.
Darzu sundet ez wider gode 850
Und brichet ein der zehen gebode.

3. Wie sich die herschaft gegen dem gesinde
halten sol und daz gesinde gegen der
herschaft

Die lude muzen auch haben gesinde,
Daz sie in helfen ziehen ir kinde
Und in zu dienste sin bereit
Zu ander manigerlei arbeit. 855

Wer dir dan getruweliche dut,
Den dienst solt du haben vor gut
Und solt milte gegen im sin,
So dut er gerne den willen din.
Sinen dienst den vorder dugentlich, 860
So dienet er dir willeclich,
Und geschicht dir zu dem dienste gut,
Wan er ez willecliche dut.

Ein gesinde solt du haben in vochten
Und solt sie doch strafen mit zochten 865
Und solt' gein dem gesinde din
Nit alzit zu grimic sin.
Du solt sie haben in der mazen,
In nit gar iren willen lazen.
Fuget dir ein dienst nit gar eben, 870
Dem solt du 'n bescheiden urlop geben
Und gip im sinen verdienten lon

Mit willen, weidelich und schon
 Und laz in schaffen daz sin;
 Also du auch du daz din. 875
 Ein gesinde sol auch an allen dingen
 Siner herschaft nutz volbringen,
 Und sollen in zu aller arbeit
 Sin gehorsam und bereit.
 Sie sollen sich nustnit weren 880
 Waz sie mogen getun mit eren.
 Sie sollen sie in friden haben
 Und sollen in ubersehen und vertragen.
 Sie sollen sie halten in eren
 Und ir bestez vorwenden und keren. 885
 Sie sollen dienen getruwelich
 Mit sorgen alzit willeclich.
 Sie sollen alle dinc bringen zu schutz
 Und keren zu dem besten nutz.
 Ezzen und drincken sollen sie nit sparn. 890
 Daz uberige sollen sie wol bewarn
 Und sollen bewarn den luden ir gut,
 Daz ez vor schaden si behut.
 Si sollen enwec geben kein dinc,
 Die ir herschefte sint, 895
 Weder hie oder dort
 Ane ir wizzen und ane ir wort.
 Alle dinc sollen sie dun und erzeigen
 Mit truwen, als were ez in eigen.
 Si sollen das beste vorwenden 900
 Nach al ir mogen an allen dingen.
 Wo sie anders haben getan,
 Da dun sie ubel und unrecht an.
 Wer also wirbet und dienet schone,
 Der ist wirdic, daz man im lone 905
 Und, obe er also sturbe,
 Daz ime hie nit gelonet wurde,
 So wil im got dort selbe geben

Freide, ruwe und ewigez leben,
Und wil im lonen also, 910
Daz er mit ime wirt ewiglich fro.
Got wil ez im an der sele ergetzen.
Daz sollen ir diener alle eben schetzen.

4. Summa

Wo nu eliche lude sint,
Die gesinde bedurfen und habent kint 915
Und in die helfen zern
Und sie die muzen gern,
Sie sollen sich nit ubel gehaben
Und sollen an gode nit verzagen.
Der got der sie beschaffen hat, 920
Der selbe got alle dinc vermac.
Got der hat zu geben vil
Und git alzit wem er wil.
Er ist aller gnaden vol
Und erkennet unse notdurft wol. 925
Wer got getruwet und hat in lieb,
Den lazet got verderben nit.
Wil er sich lazen begnugen
Und zern zu rechten zugen,
Got fuget im umer etwie, 930
Wie er sich genere hie.
Der anders so selic were,
Daz er mit truwen und eie
Nach sollichem gude hie wurbe,
Damit er nit ewicliche verdurbe. 935
Wie man darnach werben sol,
Mensche, daz solt du mercken wol:
Man sol gut besitzen unde gewinnen
Mit recht und mit erlichen dingen,
Daz man sich davon genere 940
Nach libes notdurft und nach ere,

Und nit in sollichem sinne,
 Daz man uberig gut gewinne,
 Davon man hie auf erde
 Hoffertic und geweltic werde, 945
 Und daz man kostlich cleide trage
 Oder deste me eren habe
 Oder daz man kostliche spise ezze,
 Damit man godes gar vergezze,
 Oder daz man mit wiben 950
 Wolle unkuschheit triben
 Und daz man lust habe davon,
 Herumbe sol ez nieman dun.
 Man sol gut darumbe gewinnen,
 Daz man gebe den kinden 955
 Und man sich davon genere
 Und die notdurft davon zere
 Und armen luden habe zu geben,
 Daz sie fristen hie ir leben,
 Und auch umbe daz, 960
 Daz man got gediene deste baz.
 Wer also nach gude stat
 Und alle bose meinung lat,
 Vellet dem groz richtum an,
 Daz mac er wol mit gode han, 965
 Also daz er in sime sinne
 Nit habe zu groze liebe und minne
 Zu den irdischen gudelin,
 Und er vergezze des schopfers sin
 Von dem er allez gut hat 970
 Und er in ungedancket lat.

VARIANTS

Title: Dis ist Meister Albertus lere SD . . . alberti . . . B Dis saget von meister albertus P. *In the MSS. this title refers to the first part of the poem only, but it has been applied to the whole and a new title conjectured for the first part from the Latin and Middle Dutch versions.*

1 MIn D, meinster S, heizet PD. 2 sinen sunnen B. 3 eine DB. 4 wirnemen D, vil *inserted* DB. 5 sage *wanting* liebes kint min PDB. 6 der lute PDB, sij D. 7 kument PD koment B, zu den B. 8 und sorgen DB, Ouch war ensas und swigent P. 9 furme D *wanting* P, Vogel wol mir und dir B. 10 zungen, ir *wanting* P. 11 manne D. 12 gezemen *wanting* S. 13 Ich wil dir B. 14 Vff also DB. 16 reden B, oder P. 17 Und *wanting* P. 21 lot usser B, dem munde D. 24 genant DB. 25 zu *wanting* PDB. 28 rede D. 30 rede wil eben D. 31 ander *for* oder B. 32 zu *wanting* PDB, er si B. 34 du *wanting* P, eben e D. *Below* 34 P has interpolated the following line: Obe din rede von dir ge. 35 male *wanting* MSS., so *wanting* PDB. 39 get dich die rede MSS. *Text conj. R. Priebisch.* 45 an man MSS. 46 Die ist P. 47 bescheiden D. 48 Der wonet bi got P By got wonet DB. 50 und der behut S und wer behütet D und behütet B, ere B. 51 S^{te} S Sante D, auch *inserted* MSS., sinem büche B. 54 So mag ir lop ein gute zit finden D So mag er lop und gut zijt finden B. 55 nieman P niemer DB, sagen PDB. 56 moge zwifel D. 58 bast PDB. 60 das *for* do B. 61 möhte PDB, m. an ligen DB. 63 so mercke *wanting* PDB. 66 do si DB. 70 dich selbe nit betriegen B. 75 Sant P Santus B. 76 sine SB dinre P diner D. 78 sollent B, niemer PDB, werden D zu *wanting* PDB. 79 *wanting* B, auch *inserted* D. 81 von *wanting* DB, spricht P. 82 man DB. 84 haben wil SP. 85 solt auch MSS. 88 manigen *for* man P, rede D rede dicke B. 89 sent D. 91 Wan mit B, stillet S fellet D sollent B. 92 heisser B. 95 *Text conj.* Ez ist besser ein MSS., b. denn ein B. 96 verreste SD vertorschet P wuste B, stimme *under the influence of*

stumme *in the line above* S. 97, 99 solt auch MSS. 100 keine
wanting DB. 101 Den B, verspottet vil S. 103 auch *wanting*
 S. 104 der rede B. 105 schraffe P *wanting* DB. 106 manig
 eide B manigen eit P man eide D. 107 *After* zit: ouch *inserted*
 PDB. 112 r. umbe g. PDB. 113 merckent P. 114 es si
wanting DB. 115 eine *for* umb D, dich *wanting* PDB. 116
 vint *wanting* PDB, frunt si B. 117 ein diner bewerter S einre din
 werder PD ein din werder B. 118 tu du im DB. 119 verswigen
 SB. 120 auch *wanting* DB. 121 keine dime D keinen dingen
 PB, vigent P vintg B. 122 nit *wanting* D, offenen PB. 127
 gesprechens P gesprochen B. 128 und mit MSS., unlosen S.
 130 einem B, gekallen P. 131 oren PDB. 132 gern höret B,
 Und in lust und gerne hören P. 133 cleffige DB. 134 Die
 fluck sint mit B. 135 verspottern D verspotten B. 138 schade
 B schanden S. 139 auch *wanting* MSS., schemelich P. 142
 it *wanting* PDB vt S, claffen mugent l. PB c. mussent l. D. 146
 dir *wanting* DB. 147 drytten S. 149 si *wanting* B, l. tuge not
 B. 150 Zu lern S Zu lerne DB So lere P. 153 denn *for* dun B.
 155 *Text conjectured* Du solt auch mercken dabi MSS. 156 notdurf-
 tig PDB. 157 and 158 *inverted* P. 157 lip *wanting* B. 159
 Vnd das du iht nut w.b. PD Und das du nut w.b. B. 161 ver-
 lurest PDB. 162 munt P lutern munt DB bomunt S. 163 einen
wanting MSS. 164 Vor dem P Von dem B, raten B, oder D,
 bieten S bitten PD betten B. 166 schamper sint PDB. 167
 solt *wanting* B, du *wanting* MSS. 168 bosheit *wanting* DB,
 schulde B. 169 anders *wanting* S. 170 ginre P girve D einer
 B, bosheit *inserted* MSS. 171 Ist a. das SPD. 172 unschuldig
 ist S, gezüget B. 175 recht ungöttlich P. 177 also hie B. 179
 sollest SD, Wie du solt zu rote massen haben B. 180-1 *wanting*
 B. 180 So du su herus P So du die dine her usz D. 181 haben
 an D. 186 lefftzen S leffzen P leuszen D lesen B. 187 sieden
 S. 189-90 *transposed* D. 189 du nit PB mache nit D. 190
 weng B swang du P. 191 nit *wanting* DB. 192 kallent PDB.
 193 bij dir din ere D hab hin by din ere B. 194 so *for* daz P.
 200 hore *wanting* MSS. 201 *wanting* B, zu *wanting* D so P,
 geswinde P. 203 gehoret daran das D. 205 mag nit PDB.
Below 205: Noch sine rede zu vil antriben. Wer den luten wol
 gefallen wil (*cf.* 198-9) Er mus claffen alle ziten vil. 210 Den
 habe ich fur einen wisen man PB. D = PB, *but it has vor instead of*
 fur. 211 witze *wanting* S wurcze P. 215 wiser B. 219
 furgon DB. 227 du *wanting* P. 228 du solt din B du solt din

zunge solt D. 231 glouben nit B. 232 An alles P Als das B, im
wanting D, sage DB. 233 Und solt PDB, din oren D dine oren B
sin oren P. 234 Das su PD, hörent PD. 239 du dich SDB,
auch *wanting* P. 240 wercken PDB. 245 su in sinen P,
kinnent P. 248 Iemer PB Imer D, wicklich P.

*At the end of the first part two lines have been drawn across the
page in S. In the left-hand margin is a red cross and there follow
the words: Hie gebrist des vorgntn Meister Albertus Lere ein ganze
sestern die findest du zu leste in disem buche und fahet also an wie
gar nutze fragen si und hat ein rot crutzel als hie auch eins stedt. In
PDB the title of the second part follows immediately after line 248:*

Dis seit wie gar nutze frogen sy.

Below it P interpolates the following lines:

Wer roten wil und roten sol	
E man gemein nutz suchen sol	
Wer sucht sinen einigen nucz und frunt	
Des rat ist nut volkomen	
Der Rat sol sin gewegen glich	5
Das in lobet arm und rich	
Von unglich ein gewihte	
Werden gute stete zu nichte	
Eintrehtig vernunftig rat	
Zieret wol ein ganzte stat	10
Man sol volgen dem Richen man	
Der höfflich und wol geroten kan	
Von eins getruwen mannes rat	
Kumet stete lant lute us not	
Man richtet den richen	15
Nach sinem glichen	
Den armen	
Es möhte got erbarmen	
Gewalt gut und recht	
Das klage ich armer knecht	20
Armut dut we	
Ellende noch me	
Ach frumer geselle nut verzage	
Glucke kumet noch alle tag.	

249-362 *wanting owing to mutilation of the MS.* D. 249 Der
P. 253 wil *wanting* B. 256 helfen P. 257 weissset D.
259 daz *wanting* B. 260 daz *wanting* B, in der P, worheit B.

261 Der do B. 268 Möchten wir B. 269 Darnoch B. 270
 Wer uns snelle rat gebe B. 274 wisheit *for* nustnit B. 275 er
wanting B. 277 weisset B. 282 weisset B. 283 alle ding B.
 285 von *wanting* B, in *wanting* P. 286 gegnaden P gnaden B.
 290 Möglich und zimmelich wil er uns eren B. 291 selber gen B.
 293 das *for* dar B. 296 etwas kundest B. 307 sin mut willen P
 sines mundes gelust B, haben B. 308 zergan P vergohen B. 309
 uber mut lust P Und *wanting* Vbriger müt und gelust B. 310 libes
 B, selen P. 311 by B. 312 beswinde B. 313 so gach P.
 314 Do gern vil gat ruwen nach B. 315 e *wanting* B. 316
 gen B. 322 me wissent B. 324 nit *inserted* SP. 325 lasters
 S. 326 mahst SP. 330 were noch alles bereit P. 331 lachet
 SPB, er *wanting* PB, vorwerder B. 333 von *wanting* B. 334
 trahten P. 339 spricht B. 340 Gar getruwen B, lachen P.
 343 vil *wanting* B. 346 Inen B, mahst SP. 347 bewarn B.
 348 wissig B. 350 wanne B, oder gesteine B und edel gestein P.
 351 wol *instead of* gar B. 357-8 *Transposed* P. 358 Das vil
 gros ding ist daz wirt gar clein S D. v. grosse ding werdent cleine
 B. v. grosses ding das wirt vil kleine P. 362 die do gebrochen B.
 364 Vnd *instead of* Er B. 366 im *wanting* B. 368 missetat
instead of muse dot P. B *interpolates* :

Also eine katz an alle vor

In eim söllichen ist er nit ein tor.

369 auch *wanting* DB. 371 geschehen P. 374 Inen B. 376
 rat SPD, har P hin D hie B, dort B. 380 Vnd *for* Uz B, volgen P
 finden B. 382 wissest DB. 385 ouch *inserted* B. 390 rate-
 geben PDB, und suchen B, miden *conjectured for* suchen MSS. *as*
the latter repeats the sense of 270 and does not suit what follows.
 393 tore SPD, erzoiget D zöyget P. 397 nit *wanting* P. 399 er
 sin B es in D ir sinne P, ist nut P. 401 aber *wanting* B. 404
 wart *for* hat MSS. 406 Schawen P Schouwen DB. 407 guten
inserted PD. 408 gewinnen B. 409 Der DB, sin *wanting*
 unreine DB. 410 smechte lere P. 413 laret S laget P luget B
 do liget D. 414 biz das B, er *wanting* B, genahet P. 417 gegen
 PD gern B. 421 doch *wanting* D. 423 im *wanting* DB.
 425 vorhte P forchte DB. 426 libe D. 427 sol dir B. 428
 ratet PDB, mustes B. 423, 433 soltest SA. 434-480 *wanting*
owing to the mutilation of the MS. D.

Heading to Part III conjectured. Heading of first section as in S,
 Wie man sich gar redelich in der E halten sol P, B = P, *but* gar

redelich *is wanting*. 438 g. davon h. B. 439 kome wol B.
 440 doch *wanting* B. 442 es sy B. 443 von ersten P zu ersten
 B. 444 gesetzede P, auch *wanting* PB. 448 er *wanting* P,
 gedacht B. 450 Oder das er wol su getan P liep und leyt dar Inn
 han B. 451 man *wanting* dar Inn sol halten sich B. 456 Das
for der, in *for* daz B. 459 In ist MSS. *Text conjectured Priebisch*.
 462 sy *after* lere B. 463 geleren PB. 465 ouch *for* nach P.
 467 in got P. 469 nit *wanting* S *follows* ordenlich B. 471 alle
wanting B. 472 keins B. 473 gar *wanting* B. 475 keins P.
 476 grinet B, slet B, zerynet B. 479 ettlichen luten P etzlichen l.
 B. 480 Das ist ein r. B. 481 *after* auch : nie *inserted* PDB, nit
wanting PB. 483 dem B. 484 *after* Und : hat in *inserted*
 MSS., vor ander creatur PD für andere creature B. 490 alle
wanting PB, vernunftig S. 492 leben DB. 493 Sirbet der lip
 B, lip *wanting* der nider D, darander nider B der ander hie nider P.
 496 stirbet B, ste B. 499 Die *Priebisch* Das MSS., hat sunderlich
 D. 502 tuge B düwe D. 506 erger ste B. 507 vorhten
 PDB. 510 sine *wanting* P, bitten S. *After* 511 : Mit ganzem
 hertzen an argen wan *interpolated* B. 512 sol *wanting* DB, in
wanting B, vertran B. *After* 512 Und keins von dem andern
 unere sagen B. 514 *After* und : ane *inserted* MSS., weideliche
 s. B. 515 eygentlichen B. 516 Also B Und P. 522 Den
 beschuf er und macht in us erden MSS. 524 Do liez MSS., lachen
 B. 528 leget S, sie *wanting* PB, an PB, sine site B. 529 Unsz
 SP Unser DB, here P, stan P. 530 zammen *for* zu ime B. 532
 by P. 533 Ir zwei sprach er P. 535 wesen P, erden MSS.
 537 mer B. 538 von Erste S zu dem ersten PD von *wanting* B.
 539 heiligen SPB. 541 heiligen PB. 542 koment P komen DB,
 sint B. 543 ist das Paradis P. 544 Die P, Sie zwei Inne beide
 sint B. 546 Ldig P lydig D ledig B (*small letters at beginning of*
line DB). 547 Do van P. 551 begert B. 552 ez *wanting* h.
 v. an hat geseit P. *Below* 552 : Und das adam und eva heilig
 wurdent (= 569) *inserted* P. 554 *wanting* P, brülaüft D. 555-
 609 *wanting owing to mutilation of the MS.* D. 559 soltent PB.
 560 solten S soltent PB. 563 nympt B, mitte zu hant P by der
 hant B. 566 Even S. 568 sie *wanting* B. 569 daz *wanting*
 B, wurdent P, worden B. 570 geberen PB. 571 Brude umer S
 brution P brutgon iemer B *Text Priebisch*. 572 in PB. 573 Und
 sollen hören messe und bihte P. 574 bieten S, Und bitten got das
 er uns nit vergesse also lihte P Und betten das uns got nicht
 vergesse B. *In the margin a picture titled: 'Wie Adam und Eva*

got anbotent Vmb libes erben, &c.' B. *In P there is no picture, but the title has been incorporated in the text below 574.* 575 After Und: sollent got *inserted* SPB, bieten S bitten P betten B. 576 Das ynen got libes erben und geschiere B. 577 neren B nerent P. 578 lop PB. 583 hochgezit P. 584 Zu B, stat die *wanting* In B. 587 Junger P, worent PB waz S. 590 in mahte PB, usser S. 591 waz S, *after* und: also *inserted* B. 593 wurdent PB. 594 eret SPB. 597 selber *after* komen B. 599 auch *wanting* P. 605 ist gar unbedacht PB. 607 Und mensch kunne S Vnd mensch komen B, erden SPB. 608 werden S werdent PB. 611 von *wanting* B, Sant Paulus sprach S sprichet sant Paulus D sprach paulus PB. 612 Der *wanting* B, ein B. 617 wol eben P. 620 Das B. 622 globent PD gelobetten B. 623 ir *wanting* PDB. 624 Werdent *for* Weder P. 625 bi B. 629 allein B, unser SDB unsz P, here got P hergot B. 631 Ez irre etzliche dan ander ding S Es irre ettlich denne a. d. D Es i. denn etzlich a. d. B. 632 notdurft zu sagende B. 633 wisent P. 636 Und es lossen also bliben B. 638 halten sol P. 639 Ein man und (ouch D) ein wip PDB. 642 liebe B. 643 wegen B. 644 sol *wanting* übergeben B. 646 wellent P. 647 ein ding B. 648 mögelichen und gewonlichen D. 651-4 *Wanting* PDB. 657 leben *wanting* B, gotlichen DB, forchten MSS. 658 messelicher S messeclicher B mönschlicher D menschlich P, zam MSS., mit zuchten MSS. 659 auch also P, vernemen B. 660 si sich B, mit truwen *wanting* PB. 662 an *wanting before* sele D. 666 sol *wanting* P, helffent P. 669 froge hindertwerke P. 672 das ander B. 673 sol *after* frauwe D *at the beginning of the following line* PB. 674 Sin gehorsam MSS. 675 allen stetten B. 676 An P. 678 iemer PDB. 679 auch *interpolated after* sich MSS., erberlich PDB. 680 gespuntzen SP gespon- tzen D spontieren B, und schowen P, schammen B. 681-2 *wanting* P. 681 nit *wanting* P, flogern S flogieren D vff flogieren B. 68 ziehen B. 683 Das si einander gefallen wol B. 684 *wanting* B, sie *wanting* P. 685 ceman D. 686 habe *wanting* P. 687-8 *transposed* P. 687 hulden B, fryeden S froyden P, fröuden B, in eren SPB. 688 keim D. 689 dag und nacht B. 690 eins P, ba bab bab SDB ba ba gag P. 691 Wil B, nit *wanting* P, fryeden S fryden P fride D fröiden B, gemach PDB. 692 werde B worde D, wol *wanting* PB. 693 Und tete P, mensch PB. 696 also sinen eigenenen P. 697 die PB. 698 sich *before* keren P. 699 ouch daran D. 701 alle *wanting* B, frunde

MSS., ire S *wanting* B *before* frunde SPD, ie *wanting* P. 702 eime
B, ist *wanting* PB *after* und D. 705 eime B, nieman B, iht PD
nüt B. 707 gedult P. 708 lassen *with a small l* PDB, alle
wanting PDB. 711 geht S. 716 daran DB. 718 auch an
SPD, nit an D. 719 billich übersehen S. 720 geschieht S.
722 felschet P fEelschet B, die *wanting* B. 724 pfliget SPD
pflege B, guten B. 725 verluret PDB, alzit *wanting* B. 726
den lip MSS. 727 beschicht P. 729 von P, hie *wanting* DB
hin P. 730 ist D, in ein B. 731 ist *wanting* B. 732 globet
PD gelobt B. 734 vor P. 735 hilffet nit B, rattet D, mer B.
736 Und wirt an in die e gebrochen P B = P *but* gebrochen *is wanting*
(cf. 741). 737 sache *inserted* SPD (cf. 743, 749, 755, 761), ist
wanting PDB, ein man und ein wip SPD e. m. oder e. w. P. 740
gespontzen SD gespuntzen P spontieren B. 742 da gar S ouch B.
743 sache *inserted* SPDB, lasz B. 744 glopt D. 746 un-
kuscheit D, furbas PDB. 749 sache *inserted* S, berattet SB
berattet D. 750 unertig S unfertig PD unuernunftig B, grosse PD
gros SB. 752 *wanting* B. 754 selen MSS. 755 die heilige
DB. 756 O. sich an f. B. 757 schonet MSS., nit *wanting* PB
inserted above the line D, keret MSS. 758 *wanting* PD Davon die
welt vast wurst gemeret B. 761 seste D, sache *wanting* P. 762
sint einander P. 764 zannet P zennent B, grument P. 765 eins
d. a. nit wil PDB, vertan S. 766 han MSS. 767 me PD.
768 an *wanting before* sele *and* gut B, und *wanting* D. 770 vol-
bringen PDB. 771 weder S. 772 Und dut eim MSS., andern
vihe PDB. 775 nit *wanting* MSS. 777 dingen B. 778
haltet PDB. 779 verdammet P vertamp D verdampt B. 782
wanting D. 784 geschiecht D. 786 gegeben P. 787 ewig
B. *Below* 787 Title = S, Wie man sich gegen den kinden halten sol
Und die kint wider umb gegen mutter und vatter P, Wie — die
kint = P wider umb *wanting* gegen den vattern und mutern B,
Wie sich vatter und' muter gegen kinden halten sullent und die
kinde wider umbe ynen gehorsam sullent sin D. 789 Die PDB.
790 ynen B su P. 791 mit in sol PD m. ynen sol B. 792 darft
D, waste D fast B. 793 ire B, kint PD kinden B. 794 Die
natur die sie P. 795 Iegelicher P, minnent P. 796 vorchten
PDB, das vil me P vil yne B. 798 dz die B. 799 merckent
MSS., man *wanting* D. 800 leget SDB, die *wanting* D. 804
slachen B. 805 beuahent B an gefahren D. 807 kung D. 809
die *wanting* PDB. 810 in kinde hertze SD in kindes hertzen P
und kint hertz B, heltet S haltet PD haltent B. 811 her wider P.

812 us P. 813 do wider B. 815 Inen B. 817 koment S, sin
wanting PDB. 818 Her weder D Herumbe S. 820 das DB.
 821 giner P ginre D, welt SB welte PD. 825 bettent P bittent D
 bitten B, und in eren S. 827 oder D. 830 ouch sy B ouch sù D.
 831 ernerent D dester B. 833 nit *wanting* D ut P. 834 ouch
 mit zorne nut gahen P ouch *wanting* mit zorne nit verjagen B mit
 zorns auch nit ver lagen D. 835 slagen B. 836 bescheidenheite
 masse D. 837 Du *for* Und D. 838 hant PDB. 839 Weler
 P Wellicher B, wil got han DB. 840 manchen D manichen B.
 841 beheltet S behaltet PD haltet B, sinre PD, mynne DB. 842
 Auch sollen wizzen die kint MSS. 844 nit recht tut PB nit dut
 recht D. 846 zu *wanting* PDB, hoffen DB. 847 im ist *wanting* P,
 nit *wanting* B. 848 sines vatters P. 849 Wen P, weder S.
 850 weder S, got MSS. 851 brich D, eins P eine DB, gebot MSS.
After 851: Heading wanting S Wie sich ein gesinde gegen sinre
 herschaft halten sol Vnd die herschaft wider umb gegen dem gesinde
 P. Wie sich herschaft gegen gesinde halten sol und das gesinde
 hinwiderumb mit guten willen D. Wie sich ein gesinde gegen der
 herschaft halten sol und die herschaft herwider B. 852 auch *want-*
ing P. 853 Das su in müssent helfen PDB. 854 dinste S.
 855 andern maniger leige P ander mancherlei D ander manicher B.
 857 dinst S dienste P, fur PB vier D. 860 dinst S, tegelich P.
 861 gedulteclich P ewiclich DB. 862 geschiecht D, dinste D.
 864 Dine P Din DB, halten B, vorchten SDB fruchten B. 865 do
for doch B. 866 gegen MSS. 867 ze P girich D girig B.
 868 halten PDB. 869 Und solt in MSS., nit *wanting* PB. 870
 fuget PD ffuget B, einer B, dinst S, gar *wanting* D. 871 einen
 MSS., orlop S vrlop PDB, *at the end of line 872 lon has been erased*
and vrlop put in in its place D. 872 sin bescheiden D. 875 Also
 auch du das dine P, Also du auch dust das din D, Also tüge ouch dir
 das din B. *Below. 875 Heading* Wie daz gesinde tün sol S. 876
 DIn D *Empty space for the initial* B. 877 Sinr S Sinre P Sine D,
 nutz *wanting* SDB, vollenbringen S wollebringen D. 880 nutznit P
 nuschnit D nützent B, wern SPD. 881 kunnent D, ern D. 882
 fryeden S fraiden P fröiden DB. 884 sie *wanting* DB, haben
 PDB, eren sicherlich P. 885-6 *wanting* P. 885 fürwenden B.
 887 gewilleklich PD. 888 Und *for* Sie sollen D, bringen a. d. S.
 891 wol *wanting* PDB. 893 schanden B, si vor P. 895 her-
 schaft PDB. 896 noch P. 898 erzougen P erzeichen B. 899
 ir PDB. 900 wenden B. 901 alle S aller P allem D allen
 B, irme vermögen D, enden PDB. 902 Was P. 904 und dienet

wanting P. 905 des P. 906-7 sterbe : werde B. 908 dort
wanting PDB, selber P *after* geben DB. 909 froide PD ffröide B,
 ewig gz S ewig PDB. 912 yme ez S, selen MSS. 913 alle diener
 PDB. *Below* 913 *Heading conjectured.* 914 Do PD *Initial*
wanting, small w in the margin B. 915 durffent P. 916 zieren
 PDB. 919 nit an got PD. 920 geschaffen PDB. 921 selbe
wanting P. 922 der *wanting* DB, hat uns zu B. 923 git *want-*
ing B, wenne P. 925 unsz SP unser DB. 927 lesset S. 929
 zieren P eren B. 930 wie B. 934 gut PD, hie *wanting* P.
 935 Vnd do mitte D Das mit B, er *wanting* PD, nit nach ewicliche
 MSS. 938 sol *wanting* B, gewinnen und besitzen PDB. 939
 elichen MSS., und mit rechten elichen witzen PDB. 941 eren D.
 943 gut *wanting* P. 944 erden PDB. 945 Hochfertig PB,
 gewaltig P gewalthaftig DB. 946 kostliche DB kestlich P, cleider
 MSS. 947 Ader dester merer ere habe B. 948 kostlich P.
 949 gar *wanting* PB mit D. 950 mit willen B. 951 unkusche P.
 952 lop B, dervon D. 961 gotte P; gediene got DB, dester B,
 962 gott B. 963 meinung B. 964 ffelet B, grosse B grossen
 richtume P. 967 noch B. 968 dem SPD, Irdinschen S irden-
 schen D irderschen B irdeschen P, gutlin B. 969 schöppfers PD.
 971 er es D, hat D. *Below* 971 Corin Schriber Ein güt geselle S.

PART IV

NOTES

LERE UND UNDERWEISUNG

I. 1. 1 - 2. 5 are the translator's interpolation. 1. 1 The tongue is often compared to a sword, cf. *Prov.* 12. 18 Est qui promittit et quasi gladio pungitur conscientiae, lingua autem sapientium sanitas est, *Jer.* 12. 3 and 8, *Job* 5. 15, *Ps.* 63. 4 Exacuerunt ut gladium linguas suas, *Hebr.* 4. 12 Vivus enim est sermo Dei et efficax et acrior omni gladio ancipiti. 2 This image does not seem to have been taken either from the Bible or from the Fathers, but seems to be a combination of two texts, viz. *Ecclus.* 27. 6-7 Vasa figuli probat fornax et homines justos tentatio tribulationis. Sicut rusticatio de ligno ostendit fructum illius sic verbum excogitatio cordis hominis (cf. id. 46. 18 et cognitus est in verbis suis fidelis), and 1 *Cor.* 13. 1 Factus sum velut *aes sonans*. Sebastian Franck, *Sprichwörterammlung*, vol. ii, fol. 80 a : Den vogel kennt man bey dem gesang und den hafen bey dem klang. 3 Cf. Ambrosius, *De Officiis Ministrorum*, lib. i, cap. 2, par. 5 Quamplures vidi loquendo peccatum incidisse, vix quemquam tacendo. 4 verschwiegenheit : The only instance of *e* as mark of length in the print.

Kap. 2. 1-5 With this passage cf. Ambrosius, *De vitiorum virtutumque conflictu*, cap. 22 Multiloquium dicit : 'Non ille reus habebitur criminis qui plura quidem sed bona loquitur, sed ille qui licet pauca, mala tamen dicere probatur.' Cui prudens taciturnitas respondit : 'Verum est quod dicis, sed dum multa bona proferi videntur, saepe contingit, ut a bonis inchoata locutio ad aliquod pravum derivetur. Hoc ipsum s. Scr. pronuntiat : 'Quia ex multiloquio non fugies peccatum, parcens autem labiis intelligens eris' (*Prov.* 10). Et si forte inter multa verba declinantur crimina, sed numquid declinari possunt inutilia atque otiosa de quibus utique ratio in futura erit reddenda (*Matt.* 12). Tenendus est ergo modus in loquendo et ipsis nonnunquam in utilibus verbis parcendum sicut s. Psalmista dicit : 'Obmutui et humiliatus sum et silui a bonis' (*Ps.* 38).' 3 Vridank,

Bescheidenheit So. 10. 8 For this attribute of the cock and other things which we can learn from this wise bird see Hugo de S. Victore, *De Bestiis*, lib. i, cap. 36, and id. *Miscellanea*, lib. vi, tit. 12 De galli et predicatoris consimili officio. The wise cock is contrasted with the silly jackdaw (id. cap. 45).

Kap. 3 This chapter is an expansion of a single line of the original: 'Quis, quid, cui dicas, cur, quomodo, quando requiras'. Cf. Ambrose, *De Off. Min.* 1. 10. 35, and Hugo of St. Victor, *De instructione novitiorum*, cap. 13-17.

11. This subject, councillors and their council, has been treated by Berthold von Regensburg in his first sermon (ed. Pfeiffer-Strobl). Kap. 1. 1 wann trawrikeit, &c.; cf. *Ecclus.* 30. 25 Multos enim occidit tristitia, nec est utilitas in illa, cf. also *Prov.* 15. 13. 2 biß froelich: Gaudere cum gaudentibus et flere cum flentibus *Rom.* 12. 15. 3 alt scheinen: regular use of the infinitive as substantive, cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 294. 4 Cor sapientium est ubi tristitia et cor stultorum ubi laetitia, *Eccl.* 7. 5. Kap. 30. 6, cf. *Jacobus* 2. 13.

AIN NUCZE LER VON REDEN UND SCHWEIGEN

NOTES AND VARIANTS

Heading: Hie nach volget ain *etc.* MS. In the MS. the chapters and sentences are not separated. The first four sentences of ch. 1 have been interpolated from some *Conflictus vitiorum et virtutum* in the form of a dialogue, cf. note to *Lere und Underweisung*, I. 2. 1-5. 2 = 'Reden ist besser, wenn einer, der gut reden kann, Ihm (Gott) dadurch etwas Rechtes erweist.' 4 *Eccl.* 3. 7. VII and VIII are interpolations. VIII = 'Jesus Christus, der Du das ewige Wort bist, sag uns die Wahrheit vor, darum daß wir Ihm (Gott dem Vater) wohlgefällige Worte reden.' *Einsagen* is a South German term = North German *vorsagen*.

MEISTER ALBERTUS LERE

9-12 *Jac.* 3. 7-8. 31-4 For his 'Quis, quid, cui dicas, cur, quomodo, quando requiras' Albertanus may have found models in Ambrosius, *De Officiis Ministrorum* 1. 2. 35, or Hugo de S. Victor,

Tractatus de ordine vitae et morum institutione, alias De doctrina puerorum et adulescentium, cap. 4, cf. *Der wälsche Gast* (ed. Rückert), 553-6. 49 *Prov.* 13. 3. 51-4 Inserted from *De Amore Dei*. The quotation is from 1 *Pet.* 3. 10. 65 *Ecclus.* 37. 20. 75 2 *Tim.* 2. 16. 81-4 *Prov.* 15. 1, *Ecclus.* 6. 5. 87 1 *Cor.* 15. 33. 95 Albertanus quotes Cic. *Phil.* 3. 9. 22 Satiſ est mutum eſſe quam quod nemo intelligat dicere, cf. *Ecclus.* 37. 23-4. 96 Wan = Danne daz as in line 798, vid. Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte des XII. Jahrhunderts*, note on IX. 23. 106 This line is an interpolation and it does not ſeem obvious that ſharp words ſhould produce perjury, and there is no apparent connexion between the latter and murder (*mort*). It is tempting to divide *meineide* (S) into *mein* and *eit*, rendering the lines: 'Sharp . . . words produce crime, arſon, and murder'. P, *manigen eit*, ſupports this, but there is no authority for *eit* = arſon; the word means fire only and was, if not unknown, at leaſt rare at the time when the poet wrote. Perhaps the ſenſe is that the insulting words of the overlord cauſe the vallaſſes to break their oaths and murder him (contrast Walther's words 'Dro tete liebe'). It may, however, be merely a confused form of ſome didactic formula, for we find words and murder connected in *Die heilige Regel für ein vollkommenes Leben* (ed. Priebſch, *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, xvi), 6. 27 Du inſalthe nicht mord begen, mit werken, mit worten, mit willen. 108 *Matt.* 12. 36. 121-6 *Ecclus.* 12. 10-19. 128 *unwiſen*, though a mere repetition of *doren*, appears to be the better reading, for *unloſen* (S) yields exactly the contrary ſenſe to what is required, and it is tempting to conjecture *loſen*, but the Latin has *inſipienti* only. Further, *wi-*, in the Gothic minuſcules with the loop of the *w* riſing high and curling to the right, might eaſily be miſread as *lo*. 129 *Prov.* 18. 2, cf. *id.* 23. 9, *Ecclus.* 8. 20. 133 *Ecclus.* 8. 4. 139 *Prov.* 31. 4. 158 *Jac.* 5. 12. 162 *lumunt* conjectured from *bomunt* S *lutern munt* BD *munt* P. 165 Cf. Berthold von Regensburg, III. 40. 27. 188 Albertanus has 'nec dejecti in terram oculi'. The poet may have been influenced in his rendering by *Prov.* 4. 25 Oculi tui recta videant. 209 *Prov.* 17. 28, *Bescheidenheit* 80. 10-11. 217 *Ecclus.* 11. 8. 225 *Prov.* 18. 13. 239 *Ecclus.* 28. 28-9, cf. *Walther von der Vogelweide* (ed. Lachmann), 87. 9.

With the ſecond part of the poem may be compared Berthold von Regensburg's firſt ſermon, *Der wälsche Gast* 8029-8118 and 13064 ff., *Lucidarius* 2. 36. 7-21, &c.

254 One cannot help thinking of Gurnemanz' unfortunate council, *Parz.* 171. 17: Ir enſult niht vil gefragen. Contrast *Bescheidenheit*,

78. 17 ff., 79. 1; Spervogel (MSF 21. 33) Triuwe machent werden man Und wisen schoene frage; Hartman von Aue, *Gregor* (ed. Paul) 1169 Ez (daz kint) enlie sich niht betragen Ez ne wolde dingeliches fragen Die guot ze wissenne sint Als ein saeliges kint. 271 *Jac.* 1. 5 273 *Joh.* 15. 5. Berthold von Regensburg 1. 6. 1 Und daz erste, daz dir lieber sein sol danne Salomones wisheit ist daz du niemer kein endehaft dinc getuon solt dann mit rate . . . Unde solt drier hande ratgeben an dinem rate haben: Du solt von ersten fragen din selbes herze . . . 327 *Ecclus.* 19. 8-9. 332-41 The order of the lines should rather be 332, 337-40, 333-6, 341. 349-50 *Ecclus.* 6. 15. 354 Albertanus has: 'Sapiens contra omnes fert arma dum cogitat', and 356-64: 'Et Seneca, De formula honestae vitae, dixit; 'Consilium peritorum ex apertis obscura existimat, ex parvis magna, ex proximis remota, ex partibus tota.' 367-8 'But the wise man in a house is in truth the death of the mice', i. e. of doubtful characters. The word 'mouse' was often used as a term for contempt, vid. *The Oxford Dictionary* and Grimm's *Wörterbuch*. 369 *Job* 12. 12. 389-90 The original runs: 'Viso et diligenter cognito a quibus consilium sit postulandum, videamus quorum consilium sit *vitandum*.' The MSS. have *suchen*, which is a mere repetition of 270 and does not suit the context. 402 *Ecclus.* 10. 16. 405 Cf. Berthold von Regensburg, 1. 6. 37, *Der wälsche Gast* 8029f. 419 *Ecclus.* 12. 10 ff. A very well-known proverb, cf. *Aeneid* 2. 49 Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

437-787 Compare with this section Berthold von Regensburg's great sermon on marriage (No. 21) and his twentieth sermon from p. 305, line 32 onwards. 453-6. These lines, as they stand, appear to the modern reader to promise unconditional salvation to the faithful husband and wife. The same is true of Trevrizent's words, *Parzival*, 468. 4 fol.:

'Wert ir erfunden an rechter e
Iu mac zer helle werden we,
Diu not sol schiere ein ende han
Und wert von banden alda erlan
Mit der gotes helfe al sunder twal';

and *Von dem jüngsten Tage*, 637-42. This, however, is not the meaning, and the poet's contemporaries would have been under no misapprehension. The underlying idea is that a pure married life is one of the paths along which Christians can make their way to Heaven. See, for example, Berthold von Regensburg, 21. 309. 25: Alle die da reht und redeliche zer e komment die heiszent eliute. Die sint uf dem rehten wege zem

himelriche irret eht sie anders niht. The clerics liked to compare married life to a religious order with a strict code of rules: cf. *Meister Albertus Lere* 443-4 die e . . . Ein gesetze und auch ein orden, and lines 594, 702. Bruder Peregrinus, *Dom. post Epiphaniam*, . . . est ordo quem constituit ipse. Alii enim ordines constituerunt sancti sicut Benedictus nigrum, &c. With this passage cf. Seifrid Helblinc 2. 935-45. See also the opening words of Berthold von Regensburg's twenty-first sermon: 'Es gen niwan dri wege zem himelrich von der heiligen cristenheit (Jews, infidels, and heretics are, of course, doomed anyhow) . . . der eine weg heisset diu heilige e, der ander heisset witwetuom . . . der dritte heisset magettuom'. Cf. also *Klostersitten* (*Liedersaal* 56), 14-24:

'Daz da orden sint genant
Konschaft magttuom witwen bant,
Wer der orden ain treit
Als diu regel hat und seit
Der wer des himelrichs gewisz
Und werltlicher eren risz.
Der orden nu dri sint
Die da werden des himels kint:
Konschaft magttuom witwen leben,
Ir ist nit me, das merkent eben.'

Berthold explains the meaning of *witwetuom* and *magettuom* in 21. 309. 28 fol.: 'Alle die den magettuom verliesent zer ê oder zer unê . . . unde darnach wellent kiusche sin unz an ir tot die heizent allesampt witwen . . . und die sich reinliche behalten habent von der zit daz sie geborn wurden . . . die sint alle sant megede'. Cf. *id.* 46. 100. 21 fol. 479 *etlichen luden* (PB) is probably an attempt on the part of the scribe to remove what he thought was a contradiction in terms, married people who quarrel forfeiting the right to be called 'kusche elude' (S). The reading of S has been retained because there is no real contradiction, and because it is a purely formal phrase. 507-8 *Eccl.* 12. 13. 524 *Gen.* 2. 21. 534 *Gen.* 1. 28. 539 One of the standard arguments, cf. notes to 549 and 595. Berthold von Regensburg, 25. 406. 9. 554-78 Numerous instances of marriage ceremonies in mediaeval German literature have been collected by E. Friedberg, *Recht der Eheschliessung*, Weinhold, *Deutsche Frauen*, and Kondziella, *Volkstümliche Sitten und Bräuche im mhd. Volksepos*. As we have already seen, the symbolical meaning here given to the 'Beilager' is peculiar, and the source is still to seek. The ceremony itself survived

until the seventeenth century, and then, losing its old significance, began to give offence and went out of fashion. 582-98 In discussing the source of the poem we saw that the Marriage Feast in Cana (*John* 2) was the recognized text for sermons on marriage. It need only be added that the poem contains no references to the mystical parallels between the relationship of man to woman, and of Christ to His Church, or to the symbolical meaning attached to the six jars of water. 595 See, for example, Beda, *Hom. Genuinae*, I. 13; Haymo, *De tempore*, xviii, *Dominica secunda post Epiphaniam* (Migne, 18). Schönbach, *Altddeutsche Predigten*, vol. ii, No. 13, p. 34, line 29 fol.: Er west daz vil wol daz irrare chomen solten die den einfeltigen luten saiten daz die brutlueft von got niht gesetzet wæren, sie wæren von dem teufel gesetzet. Darumb chom unser here ze den brutleuften daz er den irretuom zerstorte und daz er uns zaigt daz elich hirat den almechtigen got liep ist, wan er si selb gesetzet hat daz im sin liute davon gebreitet werden, &c. See also *id.* 3. 4. 12. 35 fol., 3. 15. 36. 3-5. 599 Berthold von Regensburg 21 (Part 2), 318. 37 fol.: Der ander vettich . . . 601 *Id.*, 21. 310. 30: Wan stark ist diu heilige e und irresam. 603-4 Der is demonstrative and emphatic, referring to 'der eman'; otherwise the lines are a mere platitudinous interruption. For the idea see 454-6 and note, and Berthold v. Regensburg, 21. 310. 33: Wie ir noch hiute daz himmelriche besitzen sult mit der e daz hat uns got erzöuget . . . 605 *Gen.* I. 28. For the Ascetic view see the passages quoted in the chapter on the sources of the poem. Further examples are *Decreti* (ed. Friedberg und Richter, Leipzig, 1881), *Secunda Pars*, c. 32, q. 2, c. 1: Partus feminarum est eis sola causa nubendi, and *id.* c. 7, *Vom Recht* 399: Daz chint daz ist daz dritte recht. *Vom Antichrist* (ed. Diemer, *Deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts*), page 281, line 2 fol.:

'Swer denne nie ne zuhet chint
Wie sælich die mit gote sint.
Si behaltent ir chusche und ir magettuom.
Des habent si ewiclichen ruom.'

611 The conjecture in the text satisfies both grammar and metre. The variants show that this was the reading of X and that the later scribes endeavoured to improve it.

619 See, for example, Petrus Lombardus, *De sacramentis*, iv. 27. 2. 620 c. 31, q. 2, c. 3: Quorum unum futurum est corpus, unus debet esse et animus. There was to be no compulsion by the father (see *id.*, c. 1). For the legal position of women in mediaeval Germany, see Bartsch

Die Rechtstellung der Frau als Gattin und Mutter, Leipzig, 1903. 628 Divorce and the impediments to marriage have been treated by Friedberg and Bartsch in the works cited above. For the Church's teaching see Index CVI. v. of the Patrology, where abundant references are given. The civil law varied in different parts of the country, see, for example, *Schwabenspiegel*, § 345. If *etlich* 631 refers to people, the order of SPD should stand, in spite of the awkward metre, but if it refers to *dinc* the order of B should be adopted, as in the text. In lines 628-34 the poet has run the two ideas of divorce and impediment to marriage together.

630 This line is not quite accurate, as it suggests that a man could leave his wife in order to enter a monastery or by taking orders. This was by no means the case, separation on this ground being permitted only if both parties desired to withdraw from the world, see c. 27, q. 2, c. 19: *Sunt qui dicunt religionis causa conjugia debere dissolvi. Verum sciendum est quia etsi hoc lex humana concessit lex tamen divina prohibuit.* c. 27, q. 1, c. 41: *Conjugia voventium non sunt dissolvenda.* c. 27, q. 2, c. 21: *Ad uxorem redire cogitur qui sine eius consensu religiosam vestem suscepit.* With this last passage cf. *Schwabenspiegel*, § 28: *Der in ein closter vert ane sines wibes urloup.* 636-7 *horen* is not governed by *lazen* but is adhortative subjunctive or imperative, *wir* being understood (cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 283). 640 *Gen. 2. 24* *erunt duo in carne una.* 651-4 These lines are found in S only and are clearly corrupt. *unbekant* is meaningless, and the simplest emendation would be *ungemant* = unwarned. Other suggestions are 'Dis sol in' or 'Es sol in nit sin unbekannt Als dieren . . .'.

673-6 *Gen. 3. 16*, *Ecclus. 25. 30*, *Col. 3. 18*, *Eph. 5. 22-3*, 1 *Pet. 3. 1* and 7, *Von Recht*, 387, &c., *Schwabenspiegel*, § 55, *Sachsenspiegel*, 3. 45. 3. 692 Siegfried's firm measures with Kriemhild will occur to everyone, *Nibelungenlied* (ed. Lachmann), 837. 695 *Eph. 5. 28*. 697-8 This was the spirit of the Church's teaching, cf. c. 32, q. 4, c. 4: *Omne stuprum adulterium est; nec viro licet quod mulieri non licet.* Albrecht von Johansdorf (MSF 89, 15-20) *waerez niht unstaete Der zwen wiben wolte sich für eigen jehen . . . wan sol ez den man erlouben und der frouwen niht.* 730 Berthold von Regensburg, 21. 319. 6 *Diu dritte veder . . .*, *Schwabenspiegel*, §§ 33 and 59, *Sachsenspiegel*, 1. 31. 1 and 2. 749 *beredet* = gives in marriage. 750 The folly of bequeathing goods unlawfully acquired to one's children is a common subject in didactic literature, cf. Berthold von Regensburg, 19. 272. 5 *So verdammest du alle die daz unrechte guot nach dir erbent*, 2. 24. 27, 20. 307. 5, 21. 319. 3; *Elisabeth* 1730, *Seifried*

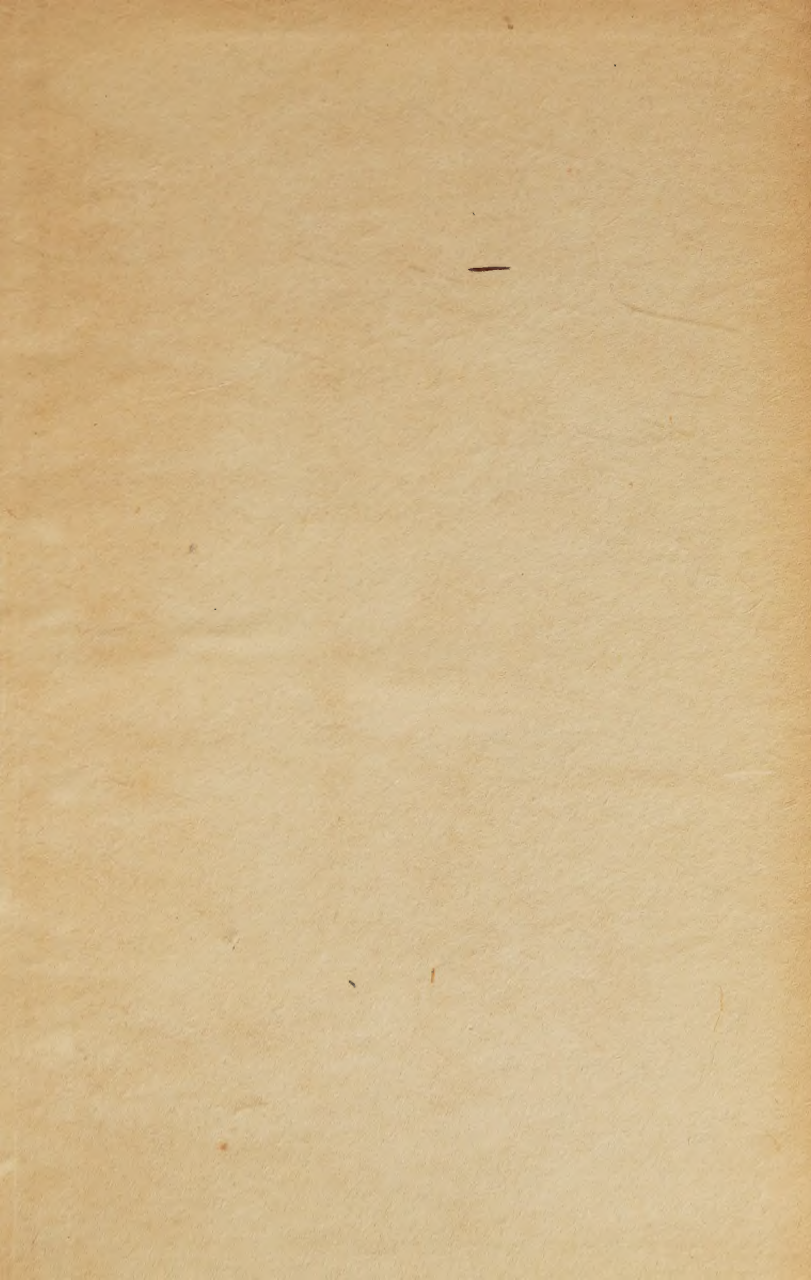
Helblinc 2. 597-603, Heinrich von Melk, *Erinnerung* 749 ff. 755 For the Church's teaching on this subject, see, for example, Theodori Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis *De temporibus quibus se contineri debent conjugati ab uxoribus* (Migne 99, 968), and c. 33, q. 4. c. 2-5. 756 *Lev.* 20. 18. 801-2 *Prov.* 13. 24, 22. 6, 23. 13-14, *Ecclus.* 30-1, *Eph* 6. 804 Contrast Walther's well-known lines (ed. Lachmann, 87. 1-8) :

Nieman kan mit gerten
 Kindes zuht beherten.
 Den man z'eren bringen mac,
 Dem ist ein wort als ein slac.

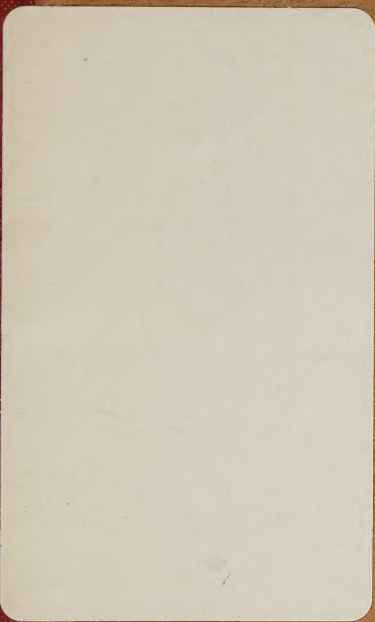
The poet follows Berthold von Regensburg, 3. 35. 4, Wan für die zit als ez erste boesiu wort sprichet, so sult ir ein kleinez rütelin bi iu nemen, daz alle zit stecke in dem diln oder in der want, und als ez eine unzuht oder ein boesez wort sprichet, so sult ir in ein smitzelin geben an bloziu hut . . . 838-41 *Prov.* 3-12. 866-7 *Eph.* 6. 9. 870-2 *Lev.* 19. 13, *Deut.* 24. 15, *Tob.* 4-15, *Jac.* 5. 4, *Sachsenspiegel* 1. 22. 2 and 2. 32. 2, Berthold von Regensburg, 6. 90. 7 Die zweite ruofende sünde . . . 894 Concerning thieving servants see *Titus* 2. 10 and Berthold 6. 90. 38 ff. 900 Lazy servants, Berthold, 6. 84. 18 ff. 910 *Eph.* 6. 8.

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